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THE ROMAN JUBILEE

THE OPENING OF THE HOLY DOOR AT ST. PETER'S.
From a drawing of Pietro Gagliardi.

Frontispiece.

THE ROMAN JUBILEE

HISTORY AND CEREMONIAL

AN ABRIDGMENT OF
"THE HOLY YEAR OF JUBILEE"

BY

HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

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AND OTHER SOURCES

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HERBERTUS CARD. VAUGHAN

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O Roma nobilis, orbis et domina,
Cunctarum urbium excellentissima,
Roseo martyrum sanguine rubea,
Albis et virginum liliis candida :
Salutem dicimus tibi per omnia,
Te benedicimus : salve per secula.

Petre tu prepotens cœlorum claviger,
Vota precantium exaudi jugiter.
Cum bis sex tribuum sederis arbiter,
Factus placabilis judica leniter ;
Teque petentibus nunc temporaliter
Ferto suffragia misericorditer.

O Paule suscipe nostra precamina,
Cuius philosophos vicit industria.
Factus economus in domo regia
Divini muneris appone fercula,
Ut, quæ repleverit te Sapientia,
Ipsa nos repleat tua per dogmata.

Hymn discovered by G. B. Niebuhr in Vatican MS. 3227 of the eleventh century and assigned by him to the seventh century ; but cf. Traube, *Abhandlungen der Philosoph.-Philolog. Classe der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. xix. p. 301 (1892).

PREFACE

THIS book is an abridgment of the author's larger work which appeared in 1900 as *The Holy Year of Jubilee*. By the omission of some controversial matters, and of a certain amount of information of the guide-book order, it has been found possible to produce a lighter and more handy volume in a less expensive form. The author, however, believes that everything in the earlier book has been retained which is likely to be of interest to the general reader and especially to the Jubilee pilgrim. The arrangement of the chapters has been altered, and, as this abridgment appears in a new format, some modification has been rendered necessary in the number and size of the illustrations.

HERBERT THURSTON.

November 27, 1924.

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The Roman Jubilee

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE JUBILEE

THERE can be no reasonable doubt, especially after the learned researches of Dr. Nikolaus Paulus in his recent *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*,[1] that the first *anno santo* known to history was that proclaimed by Pope Boniface VIII in the year 1300. In the Bull then issued the word Jubilee is not mentioned, but many people connected this term with the indulgence at the time, and it has remained in possession ever since. Hence we speak indifferently either of the Jubilee indulgence, or of the indulgence of the Holy Year.

Let us note, before we go further, that both the name and the idea of the Jubilee are, of course, borrowed from what we find in the Old Law recorded in the Book of Leviticus. The number fifty is arrived at not through any decimal system of numeration as being the half of a century, but simply because it is the numeral which follows next after seven complete sevens. The same principle, be it observed, has given us the Jewish Pentecost—the "fiftieth day" feast—with its Christian analogue, best known to us as Whit-Sunday.. The Jews were to number seven weeks of years, *i.e.* forty-nine years, and the fiftieth was the year of Jubilee. The earth was to lie fallow, land and houses in the open

[1] This is by far the most authoritative and accurate work in existence on the subject of Indulgences. See especially on the Jubilee, vol. ii. pp. 103 *seq.* and 175 *seq.*; vol. iii. pp. 181 *seq.* The work was published in 1922–1923 by F. Schöningh of Paderborn.

country were to return to their original owners or their heirs, and slaves recovered their freedom. It is in imitation of this Old Testament prototype that the Christian Church also has established its Jubilee, proclaiming from time to time " a year of remission " from the penal consequences of sin. In its origin, the Jubilee could only be gained by a visit to Rome, but in return for this pious pilgrimage, then an undertaking of great difficulty and danger, the successors of St. Peter, in whose hands resides the authority to bind and to loose, bestowed upon the pilgrim, duly confessed and contrite, a complete remission from all the temporal punishment due to his sins. Inasmuch as with this remission of penalties there were also included special privileges by which certain confessors were empowered to give absolution for almost any class of sins, however grievous, which otherwise were reserved to the Holy See, the Jubilee Indulgence and others of similar amplitude became popularly known as remissions from guilt and punishment, *a culpa et a pœna*, a phrase which afterwards caused difficulty, but which cannot conveniently be discussed in this place. Certain other conditions, in particular the praying during a specified number of days in the greater churches of Rome, were also indicated, and in the course of time, when the actual visit to the Eternal City came on some occasions to be dispensed with, a commutation was imposed which often took the form of giving alms for the crusade against the Turks, or for the rebuilding of this or that church or basilica. But let us return to the question of the first *anno santo*.

On Christmas Eve, in the year 1299, a vast congregation assembled in the basilica of St. Peter's for vespers. The congregation was not exclusively Roman. A large number of strangers were present, who had been attracted to Rome, it seems, by a report that great indulgences could be gained by all who visited the tombs of Sts. Peter and Paul during the course of

the ensuing twelvemonth. The reports took various and fantastic forms, but they were consistent in asserting that an indulgence of some kind or other could be gained, at a time not specified, during the opening year of the next century. Some said that a plenary indulgence was offered to all who prayed at the tombs of the Apostles on the 1st of January; others asserted that the same indulgence was available upon any day of the year; and others again limited the grant to a hundred days, but supposed that it might be repeated every day of the year for all who daily said a prayer at the shrines of the two great Apostles and patrons of the Holy City. During the week the number of pilgrims increased; the different reports as to what indulgence could be gained became more numerous and conflicting; the tombs of the Apostles were hourly besieged by a growing throng of worshippers, and the streets were so crowded that, as an early writer expresses it, "It was scarcely possible to walk through the city, vast and large though it was." [1]

Meanwhile the Pope, from the windows of the Lateran, daily saw the basilicas filled with worshippers; he heard what had induced so many to flock to his capital, was delighted at the piety and reverent behaviour of the faithful, but took no immediate step either to check the movement or to encourage it. Even in those early days the Roman Court seems to have possessed in perfection the art of waiting, and it was not till the second Sunday after the Epiphany, 17th January, 1300, when the Sudarium [2] of St. Veronica was exposed for public veneration, that the Pope, on his way to the basilica, chanced to meet an old man of one hundred and seven years, a Savoyard,

[1] Platina, *De Vitis Pontif.*

[2] The Sudarium of St. Veronica is the handkerchief with which she is believed to have wiped the face of our Lord, when with some other holy women she met Him on His way to Mount Calvary (Luke xxiii. 27). Our Lord returned the handkerchief with the impression of His countenance upon it.

who was being carried to the church in the arms of two or three of his sons. Touched at such a sight, the Pope summoned them to his presence, and before several cardinals inquired of the old man his reason for undertaking the journey at so advanced an age. "I remember," said the aged pilgrim, in reply to His Holiness, "that at the beginning of the last century my father, who was a labourer, came to Rome and dwelt here as long as his means lasted, in order to gain the indulgence. He bade me not to forget to come at the beginning of the next century, if I should live so long, which he did not think I should do." Whereupon he was asked what indulgence he hoped to gain by coming to Rome. "A hundred days' indulgence every day of the year," he replied. This report was confirmed by two other men, both centenarians, from the diocese of Beauvais. Aged pilgrims from different parts of Italy gave evidence of a similar tradition. The Pope was interested in these stories, and commissioned some of the cardinals to examine the ancient records, and collect what oral testimony they could as to the belief of the faithful regarding the spiritual favours they expected to obtain by coming to Rome in the opening year of a new century. The result of the inquiry proved the existence of a general belief that an indulgence of some kind was to be gained, but no written document in support of it could be discovered.[1] Unwilling that his flock should be deprived of what they had put themselves to great inconvenience to obtain, the Pope, on the 22nd of February, issued the following Bull:

"Boniface, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God.

"For the perpetual remembrance of the thing.

"The trustworthy tradition of our elders affirms

[1] We learn these details principally from the treatise of a contemporary, Cardinal Gaetano Stefaneschi, *De centesimo seu jubileo anno liber*. A much better text than that printed in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum* was edited by Quattrocchi in *Bessarione*, 1900, vol. vii. pp. 291 *seq*.

that great remissions and indulgences for sins are granted to those who visit in this city the venerable basilica of the Prince of the Apostles. Wherefore We who, according to the dignity of our office, desire, and ought to procure, the salvation of each, holding all and each of these remissions and indulgences to be authentic, do, by our apostolic authority, confirm and approve the same, and even grant afresh and sanction them by this our present writing. In order that the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul may be the more honoured as their basilicas in this city shall be the more devoutly frequented by the faithful, and that the faithful themselves may feel that they have been reinvigorated by an abundance of spiritual favours in approaching their tombs, We, confiding in the mercy of Almighty God, in the merits and power of these His Apostles, in the counsel of our brethren, and in the plenitude of the apostolic authority, grant to all who, being truly penitent, and confessing their sins, shall reverently visit these basilicas in the present year 1300, which commenced with the festival of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ which has just been celebrated, and to all who being truly penitent, shall confess their sins, and shall approach these basilicas each succeeding hundredth year, not only an ample and copious, but the fullest pardon of all their sins. We determine that whatever persons wish to gain these indulgences granted by us must, if they be inhabitants of Rome, visit these same basilicas for thirty days, either successively or at intervals, at least once a day; if they be foreigners or strangers, they must in like manner visit the basilicas for fifteen days. Nevertheless, each one will merit more, and will the more efficaciously gain the indulgence as he visits the basilicas more frequently and more devoutly. Let no man, therefore, dare to infringe or impugn this our rescript of confirmation, approval, renewal, grant, and decree. And if anyone presumes to assail

it, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

"Given at St. Peter's, Rome, February 22, 1300, in the sixth year of our Pontificate."

Boniface VIII is a Pontiff whose political activities made him many fierce enemies among his contemporaries, and who has often been denounced for arrogance and greed by the critics of a later age. Impartial modern writers incline to a more favourable verdict than was usual fifty years ago. But whatever may be thought of the motives or conduct of the Pope in proclaiming the Jubilee, there can be no question as to the deep religious impression which the spectacle produced upon all who witnessed it. From every part of Europe the pilgrims streamed to Rome, not only from France and Germany, but from the far North and from the East, rich and poor, young and old, sound and infirm, men and women. The roads of Italy were safe; pilgrims of all nations were allowed to come and go unhindered. Vast as was the concourse, and though an inundation of the Tiber at one moment threatened famine, there was no disturbance, thanks mainly to the exertions of Pope Boniface and of the magistracy of Rome. "It was a wonderful spectacle," wrote the Florentine merchant and chronicler, Giovanni Villani. "There were continually upwards of 100,000 pilgrims in the city, without counting those that each day came and went, and yet all were cared for and abundantly supplied with provisions, both men and horses, and all this in the best order, without disturbance or conflict." "The crowd of men and women," records the chronicler Ventura of Asti, "was stupendous. I saw it with my own eyes, for I spent fourteen days in the city. There was abundance of flesh, fish, and oats to be purchased in the market. Hay was very dear, and so also was lodging, so that my bed and stabling for my horse, without fodder,

cost me every day a grosso tournois. As I rode away from Rome on Christmas Eve, I found the roads encumbered with a multitude of pilgrims which no man could count, and amongst the Romans it was said that more than two millions of men and women had come to the city in all. Over and over again I saw both men and women trodden under foot in the press, and I myself more than once was hard bestead to escape the same danger."

Very touching also are the descriptions preserved for us of the behaviour of the pilgrims. They came in pilgrim garb, or in the national dress of the countries to which they belonged, on foot, on horseback, in wagons, bringing with them even those who were decrepit and sick, and laden with their baggage. There were aged men there a hundred years old, led by their children, and there were youths who carried father or mother to Rome on their shoulders. They spoke in the dialects of many lands, but they sang the litanies in the one only language of the Church, and all their eager desires were directed to one and the same object. While yet afar off, when they caught a glimpse of the towers of the Holy City across the broad Campagna, they broke into joyous shouts of "Roma, Roma," like sailors who, after a long voyage, sight the land once more. Then they threw themselves on their knees for a while, and rose up with the inspiring cry, "Saints Peter and Paul, graciously hear us." At the gates their countrymen or acquaintances received them to conduct them to their lodging, but first of all they made their way to St. Peter's to climb upon their knees the steps of the ante-court, and they did not attend to their own bodily needs until they had thrown themselves down in rapture before the tomb of the Apostles.

It is curious, as an illustration of contemporary Roman manners, to learn from Stefaneschi, who evidently records the circumstance as something

quite out of the common, that even young unmarried girls were allowed to make the visit to the two basilicas. "During the day, in protection of their virginal modesty, they remained at home, shielded from the rude gaze of the men, but at night, under the safe escort of matrons, they sallied forth to visit the Churches of the Apostles."[1]

Whether Dante himself undertook a pilgrimage to Rome during any part of the year 1300 does not seem quite certain. What we know of his official occupation at Florence, and of the fierce hostility with which he regarded Pope Boniface, would incline to a negative answer, but he has none the less a reference to the regulations made for preserving order in the throng, which seems hardly to come naturally from anyone but an eye-witness—

> E'en thus the Romans, when the year returns
> Of Jubilee, with better speed to rid
> The thronging multitudes, their means devise
> For such as pass the bridge; that on one side
> All front toward the Castle, and approach
> St. Peter's fane, on the other towards the mount.[2]

There is in the *Purgatorio* another reference to this great occasion, which has attracted the attention of Dante students because it supplies a useful clue to the correct dating of the poem. He represents the souls during that year of grace as carried into Purgatory, ferried by the angel of God across the waters—

> These three months past indeed
> He whoso chose to enter with free leave
> Hath taken.[3]

In spite of the difficulty of feeding such huge crowds, the commissariat problem seems, on the whole, to

[1] "Nec defuere innuptæ, die ob virginitatis pudorem domi virorum aspectibus obtectæ, nocte sub fida matronarum custodia ad sacras Principum ædes migrantes." (Stefaneschi, *De Jubileo*, p. 538.)

[2] Cary's Dante, *Inferno*, canto xviii.

[3] *Purgatorio*, canto ii., Cary.

have been successfully solved. For the first three months there was an abundance of provisions, but then fears began to be entertained that the supply of food would run short, especially as it was thought that, even if there was sufficient corn, there would be a deficit of mills and ovens. In reality, there was enough corn, and extra precautions were taken by bidding the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns to supply bread ready made, whilst the country people brought in whatever fruit and vegetables they could spare. Fortunately the harvest was good, the wine presses flowed with a generous vintage, and although things became dearer in October, this in no way affected the people's devotion.

Two points only does it seem desirable to emphasise before we conclude our account of the Jubilee of Boniface VIII. In the first place, no one who reads Stefaneschi's narrative can feel any doubt of the really spiritual character of the whole institution. The pilgrimage to Rome was not a trip or jaunt, but a true incentive to piety, in which the absolute necessity of contrition of heart as a condition of gaining the indulgence was never for a moment lost sight of. Besides his prose work, Stefaneschi also composed a short poem on the subject of the Jubilee, and there, putting into verse the conditions of the Bull, he insists—

> All crime is washed away,
> Not merely fully, but in fullest sense,[1]
> When bounteous grace extends to every fault
> Entire forgiveness. Only let those rash men,
> Who have defiled God's image in their souls,
> With true compunction manifest their sins
> And pray for pardon.

So again in one of the German chronicles printed in Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ*, there is given a contemporary exposition of Boniface's Bull *Antiquorum*

[1] Non solum plenam et largiorem imo plenissimam omniam veniam peccatorum. (Bull *Antiquorum*.)

by a Roman canonist, who had evidently been asked to explain what this new and unheard-of indulgence might mean. The exposition amounts to hardly more than a paraphrase of the Bull, but the writer does introduce a reference to the Jubilee, or Year of Remission of the Old Law, and he insists, like the Pope, that these indulgences were granted only to those *vere penitentibus et confessis* who were truly penitent and who had made their confession. The point is, in reality, one that hardly needs noticing save for the assertion reiterated by such critics as the late Dr. H. C. Lea, that these clauses were mere formalities, buried away under a cloud of verbiage and attended to by no one.

The other matter to which allusion has just been made is the question of the alms of the pilgrims. The phrase of the chronicler Ventura, who describes, obviously with some rhetorical exaggeration, the two clerks standing day and night by the altar of St.Paul's and gathering in countless sums of money *with rakes*, has remained firmly impressed upon the minds of the assailants of Roman indulgences. But here also a reference to the narrative of Cardinal Stefaneschi helps to set the matter in its true light. The offerings so described were not gifts of the rich, pieces of gold and silver, but contributions of the very poor made in the smallest coin then current. Again, they were purely voluntary, and in no way made a condition for the gaining of the indulgence. Neither were the churches of Rome show-places where a fee was required from visitors, and where a verger was employed to hurry them from altar to altar. What is more, although some 50,000 gold florins were received in all at the two basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, Stefaneschi informs us that this was not much more than double the sum offered in ordinary years,[1] and we learn both from him and from other

[1] Cf. Tosti, *Storia di Bonifazio VIII*, vol. ii. p. 288.

writers that the money was spent either directly or indirectly upon the fabric of the Roman churches, and in making proper provision for the clergy connected with them. In any case, no portion of these alms seems to have found its way into the papal treasury.

The first Jubilee was not specially remarkable for the dignity of those who visited Rome to take part in the celebrations. Charles Martel, of the House of Anjou, the son of the King of Naples, was there, attracted probably by the hope of inducing the Pope to favour his claim to the throne of Hungary. So also Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, had come with equally interested motives, desiring to make himself master of Constantinople and Emperor of the East. In neither case does Boniface seem to have done much to further their cause. On the other hand, the most interesting to us of all the deputations was undoubtedly that which, according to Tosti, was sent by the Guelf party, now dominant in Florence. To emphasise in some sort the equality which the democratic city claimed with the crowned heads of Europe the personages composing the embassy appeared in the character of different monarchs. Thus, Varmilio Alfano represented the Emperor of the West, Simon dei Rossi the Emperor of the East, Musciatto Francese the King of France, Ugolino de' Cerchi the King of England, Romero Frighinello the King of Bohemia, Guicciardo Bastaro the great Cham of Tartary, and so on. The embassy was most splendidly equipped and mounted, the envoys being of course attired in the costumes appropriate to their assumed characters. A cavalcade of five hundred horsemen escorted them on their way.[1]

[1] Tosti, *Storia di Bonifazio VIII*, vol. ii. p. 73. Tosti does not seem to have noticed the account of this embassy given by St. Antoninus of Florence in his *Chronicle*. The Saint states that Boniface said in reference to it: "For the glory of the name of Florence I declare that the Florentines will form another factor in the ruling of the world." *Chronicon* (Lyons, 1586), part iii. p. 240.

Who the Ugolino de' Cerchi was who represented the King of England we have no means of learning. Could he by any possibility be identical with the Ugolino of whose visit to the Jubilee a strangely interesting testimony existed at Florence in the seventeenth century in the shape of an inscription in the Via della Fogna? The inscription may be thus translated—

"For the perpetual memory of the fact. Be it plainly known to all who look upon this slab, how Almighty God, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ MDCCC. conferred a special boon upon the Christians. For His Sepulchre, which had been in the possession of the Saracens, was recovered by the Tartars and given back to the Christians. And the same year, since a solemn remission of all sins, to wit, both of guilt and of penalty (solemnis remissio omnium peccatorum, videlicet culparum et pænarum), was granted by Pope Boniface to all who visited Rome, many—both Christians and Tartars—came to Rome for the aforesaid Indulgence; *and there went thither also Ugolino and his wife.*"

The last words in italics are written in Italian. There is another contemporary inscription referring to the Jubilee in the Cathedral at Siena. The rude leonine hexameters may fairly be represented by some such jingle as the following :—

> At Rome each hundredth year
> Occurs the Jubilee;
> Sins are washed clear,
> The penitent set free.
> Pope Boniface made this decree.[1]

Most important of all the memorials of the first Jubilee year, Giotto's painting of Pope Boniface, still preserved in the Lateran, must not be forgotten. It

[1] Annus centenus Romæ semper est jubilenus,
Omnia laxantur, cui penitet ista donantur,
Hæc decrevit Bonifacius et roboravit.

OPENING OF THE HOLY DOOR BY CLEMENT X IN 1675.
From the bas-relief on his tomb in St. Peter's.

BONIFACE VIII PROCLAIMING THE JUBILEE.
From painting of Giotto in the Lateran.

To face p. 13.

is generally supposed to represent Boniface in the act of promulgating the Jubilee. The mat-shaped trappings which hang down on either side, and which appear almost to be part of the vestments of the two ecclesiastics, display the wavy bend which were the arms of Boniface (Benedict Gaetano), and from which, in the pseudo-prophecy of Malachy, he is described by the motto *Ex Undarum Benedictione* (from the benediction of the waves).

When the time appointed for the Jubilee terminated with the Christmas Eve of 1300, Boniface was asked to extend the period further until Easter. He allowed some extension for the benefit of those who had already begun to fulfil the conditions, but the Jubilee proper closed with the Christmas Eve, as originally arranged. This practice of beginning the Jubilee with Christmas Day and not with the new year is still observed, and is an interesting survival of the old custom of dating from the Nativity of our Lord instead of from the kalends of January. One of the early books, which deals with the history of indulgences, affords an interesting illustration of the general prevalence of the same usage in the time of Alexander VI. It is a work undertaken by a certain Stephanus ex Nottis, in view of the Jubilee of 1500, and the author has printed throughout at intervals the exact dates at which, as the work progressed, he resumed his task of writing it. Disregarding the prefatory matter, which was a later addition, we find at the top of the first page: "In nomine Domini Jesu Christi; die 3 Novembris, 1498. Hic liber est defensivus a crudeli morbo desperationis et ductivus in vitam æternam." [1]

On the 25th September, 1499, "at 23 o'clock," he was about half way through; the last sentences of the text were written down on the 16th January, 1500, at the second hour of the night; and on the 18th of

[1] "This book is a protection against the cruel disease of despair and a guide to eternal life."

January he began the dedication and table of contents, the whole being completed at 20 o'clock (about 1.30 p.m.) on 26th January, 1500. "Laus Deo," adds the writer. Unfortunately the work took nearly ten months to print, and it only came from the press on 1st December, 1500, when the Jubilee was all but over. As he was nearing the end of his treatise, we find abundant time-notes which mark his rate of progress. He seems to have got through a good section on 24th December, 1499, then he took two days' holiday (he was writing, we may note, in Milan), and the next entry is on 27th December, in this form: "The 27th day of December at the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred, beginning from the feast of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ in that year, to wit, 1500." I may add that Burchard in his *Diario* also makes the change from 1499 to 1500, as he passes from the 24th to 25th of December, Christmas Day being thus reckoned, even as it was by Christians in the early centuries, the first day of the new year.

If we may judge from the scanty notices in our own monastic chronicles, the Jubilee of Boniface VIII attracted little attention in England. It is expressly remarked by one of the Italian writers, who has left an account of this Jubilee, that few Englishmen were found among the pilgrims. On the other hand, we are told by Stefaneschi that the prudence of the northern peoples was much commended, "who, waiting for a season of the year when the climate in Rome is somewhat similar to the cold in their own country, came at the end of autumn and the beginning of winter." One fact we know which may have interfered to some extent with the free passage to Rome of English gentlemen and distinguished ecclesiastics. King Edward I had strictly forbidden that money or plate should be conveyed out of the kingdom; the result was that any person of note who

wished to journey abroad was practically reduced to asking the king's permission if he wished to travel in any comfort. We have still in existence the writs issued by the king to the Bishop of Winchester and others, who were declared to be going across the seas on the king's business, and dispensing them from the law just referred to forbidding the exportation of specie.

The second Jubilee was celebrated by Clement VI in 1350. Early in the century Clement V had removed the Papal Court to Avignon, and to this city an embassy, consisting of eighteen members of noble Roman families, was sent on the accession of Clement VI in 1342, supplicating him to return to Rome and also to celebrate another Jubilee. As a motive for granting the latter request, the Pontiff was asked to remember the brevity of human life and the very small number of persons who could profit by a Jubilee celebrated only once in a hundred years. The prayers of the ambassadors are said to have been re-enforced by a letter of St. Bridget of Sweden, in whose revelations we read that by the command of God she wrote to communicate to Clement the following message: "I have raised thee above all others in honour; arise, then, and make peace between the Kings of France and England, and afterwards return to Italy to announce the year of salvation and divine charity."

The poet Petrarch, accompanied by Cola di Rienzo,[1] also went to France to endeavour to persuade the Pope to bring back the Papal Court to Rome, and to shorten the interval between the Jubilees. Petrarch addressed a poetical epistle to Clement,[2] beginning—

Spes mihi longa nimis pater, O sanctissime patrum.

[1] Papencordt, *Cola di Rienzo e il suo Tempo*, pp. 65 and 324, considers that there were two embassies, one in 1342 and the second in 1343. Rienzo, in his opinion, was a member of the second embassy, Petrarch of the first.

[2] *Epistolarum Carmine Scriptarum*, liber ii. ep. 5.

What follows is a rough translation of that portion of the poem which more directly concerns our present purpose.

> With other boons, this I devoutly pray
> That henceforth quicklier may cycle round
> The sacred and all-salutary year,
> That sickness easy remedy may find,
> And sin, nigh hope of pardon: that when storms
> Lash the fierce waves, we shipwrecked mariners
> May find near harbourage, lest to far shores
> Struggling in vain we perish in the surf.
> For who dare hope to pass the extremest mark
> Of mortal life, or tell an hundred years,
> Since in the twinkling of an eye our day is spent?
> Wherefore, more quickly bring that season round
> Which washes clean the world's iniquity,
> Pardons the guilty, breaks the captive's chains;—
> Nor strange my prayer, nor alien to God's writ.

There is no foundation for the suggestion which has been made,[1] that the Pope was induced to institute this Jubilee by the pestilence (the "black death") which devastated Rome, like the rest of Europe, in the years 1348–1349. The Bull *Unigenitus* proclaiming the Jubilee was issued in 1343, and the motives which weighed with the Pontiff are clearly stated in the text. After setting forth reasons drawn from Holy Scripture why the fiftieth year should be thus honoured, the Pope goes on: "Considering also the prayers of our people of Rome who, by special and solemn embassies, humbly supplicate us,[2] as in the case of Moses and Aaron of old, in the name of all the faithful saying: O Lord, open to them Thy treasure, the fountain of living water. . . . We, wishing that as many souls as possible should participate

[1] By Gonzalo de Illescas in his *Historia Pontifical.*

[2] *Attendentes et clamorem peculiaris populi nostri Romani videlicet hoc humiliter supplicantis . . . et dicentis. "Domine aperi eis thesaurum tuum, fontem aquæ vivæ."*—Num. xx. 6. These last words are noteworthy for their connection with the symbolism of the door spoken of in the next chapter.

in this indulgence, and recognising that from the brevity of human life but few survive until the century, by the advice of our brothers, the Cardinals of Holy Church, have decided for the above and other reasons that the term of the said concession of indulgence shall be reduced to fifty years."

The Pope despatched copies of this constitution to many patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, ordering them to publish it in their respective dioceses. He also sent Cardinal Annibaldo Gaetani Ceccano, Bishop of Frascati, as his legate to Rome, conferring on him the fullest powers in everything that concerned the celebration of the Jubilee.

At the Jubilee of 1350 we are told that the concourse of people was so great that, between Christmas 1349, when it commenced, and the following Easter, 1,200,000 persons visited the Holy City. The author of the *Life of Rienzo* remarks, "In that year (1350) all Christendom flocked to Rome to gain the indulgence."[1] So also the Italian chronicler, Matteo Villani, writes: "On the Feast of the Nativity, 1349, the Holy Indulgence commenced for all those who went on pilgrimage to Rome, visiting, as ordered by Holy Church, the Basilicas of St. Peter, St. John Lateran, and St. Paul without the walls,[2] to which pardon men and women of all sorts and conditions ran in great and incredible numbers (there had recently been great mortality from the pestilence of 1348, which, indeed, still raged in many places), and they made the pilgrimage with great devotion and humility, bearing with much patience bodily discomforts of all

[1] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, the *Chronicon de Melsa*, and some other English chronicles, take notice of the Jubilee. But Edward III put all possible obstacles in the way of intending English pilgrims for fear money should be taken out of the country, and but few Englishmen went to Rome.

[2] Clement VI added the visit to St. John Lateran to the two prescribed at the previous Jubilee. The visit to St. Mary Major was afterwards enjoined by Gregory XI in his constitution *Salvator noster* (1373), but he never lived himself to celebrate a Jubilee.

kinds, arising from extreme cold, frost, snow, inundations, rough and broken roads, and insufficient shelter. Germans and Hungarians in multitudes passed the night in the open air herding together and making great fires to lessen the cold. The hosts at the inns were too busy—not, indeed, to provide bread, wine, etc., but to take the money that was offered for them. To number the crowds was impossible, but it was estimated that from Christmas to Easter there were constantly at Rome from ten to twelve hundred thousand people, and at Ascension and Pentecost eight hundred thousand. The numbers diminished as the summer advanced, partly on account of the heat, partly because of the labours of the harvest; but a great multitude remained. The visits to the three churches, when we take into account the going and returning to the place where each person lodged, involved on the average a journey of eleven miles. The roads were so crowded that all the pilgrims, whether they travelled on foot or on horseback, went very slowly." [1]

The Volto Santo or Sudario, the napkin believed to have been offered to our Saviour by St. Veronica, and to have retained the impression of His sacred countenance, was shown at St. Peter's on every Sunday and Feast Day, at which time the multitudes who thronged the church were so great that many were suffocated or trampled to death. It is curious to note how deep a feeling of devotion the exposition of this relic—the authenticity of which is unfortunately more than doubtful—would seem to have evoked. The spurious but contemporary document quoted by Alberic a Rosate, and purporting to be a Jubilee Bull of Clement VI, represents the veneration of the Volto Santo as the climax of the whole pilgrimage, and, indeed, it even implies that to receive the blessing given with the Sudario was one of the

[1] *Villani*, lib. i. cap. 55.

necessary conditions for gaining the indulgence. Hence we are hardly surprised to notice that the deep impression made upon the pilgrim, when after months of toil and hardship he found himself at last gazing on the imprint of those sacred features, is commemorated in one of the most beautiful sonnets of Petrarch

> The palmer bent, with locks of silver grey,
> Quits the sweet spot where he has passed his years,
> Quits his poor family, whose anxious fears
> Paint the loved father fainting on his way;
> And trembling, on his aged limbs slow borne,
> In these last days that close his earthly course,
> He in his soul's strong purpose finds new force.
> Though weak with age, though by long travel worn:
> Thus reaching Rome, led on by pious love,
> He seeks the image of that Saviour Lord
> Whom soon he hopes to meet in bliss above:
> So, oft in other forms I seek to trace
> Some charm, that to my heart may yet afford
> A faint resemblance of thy matchless grace.—*Dacre.*

The crystal case, adorned with ornaments of silver-gilt in which the Sudarium is still enclosed, was given in this Jubilee year by three Venetian nobles—Nicolo Valentini, Bandino de' Garzonibus, and Franceschino in Glostro.[1]

There is no record of any large number of distinguished visitors. St. Bridget of Sweden was then residing in Rome. Petrarch himself was hardly to be counted a stranger in the Holy City. The most notable person who came from afar was Ludwig, King of Hungary, who daily made the round of the basilicas on foot, and who, before he left, offered 4,000 gold crowns at the altar of St. Peter's.

But the Jubilee did something, nevertheless, to secure peace and a measure of prosperity for the afflicted city. The following passage from Mrs. Oliphant's *Makers of Rome* gives a striking picture

[1] Cancellieri, *De Secretariis*, t. ii.

of the temporal benefits it brought in its train. It should be remembered that Rome was just at this time in the throes of the disturbances created by the revolt of the great tribune Cola di Rienzo.

"Many and great had been the troubles in those seven years. It had fallen back into the old hands—an Orsini and a Colonna, a Colonna and an Orsini. There had been a temporary lull in the year of the Jubilee (1350), when all the world flocked to Rome to obtain the indulgence, and to have their sins washed away in the full stream of papal forgiveness. It is said that Rienzi himself made his way stealthily back to share in that indulgence, but without making himself known; and the interest of the citizens was so much involved in peace, and it was so essential to keep a certain rule of order and self-restraint on account of the many guests who brought money to the city, that there was a temporary lull of its troubles. The town was no more than a great inn from Easter to Christmas, and wealth, which has always a soothing and quieting influence, poured into the pockets of the citizens, fully occupied as they were by the care of their guests, and by the continual ceremonials and sacred functions of those busy days. The Jubilee brought not only masses of pious pilgrims from every part of the world, but innumerable law-suits—cases of conscience and of secular disputes—to be settled by the busy Cardinal who sat instead of the Pope, hearing daily what every applicant might have to say. There had been a new temporary bridge built in order to provide for the pressure of the crowd, and avoid that block of the old bridge of St. Angelo, which Dante describes in the *Inferno*, when the mass of pilgrims coming and going broke down one of the arches. Other large, if hasty, labours of preparation were also in hand.

"The Capitol had to be repaired and old churches furbished up, and every scrap of drapery and tapestry

which was to be had employed to make the city fine. So that for one year at least there had been no thought but to put the best possible face on things, to quench internal disorders for the moment, and make all kinds of temporary arrangements for comfort and accommodation as is often done in a family when important visitors force a salutary self-denial upon all; so that there were a hundred inducements to preserve a front of good behaviour and fit decorum before the world." [1]

Some measure of doubt and confusion rests upon the Jubilees celebrated during the time of the Great Schism of the West. The intervening period was shortened to thirty-three years and an *anno santo* seems to have been kept in 1390 and in 1423. Also it appears from a Pontifical letter of the year 1420, which is printed in Raynaldus *Annales Ecclesiastici*,[2] that Martin V addressed a reproof to the Archbishop of Canterbury for having arrogated to himself powers which belong to the Holy Father alone, inasmuch as during the reign of Henry VI the archbishop proclaimed an indulgence in England like that of the Holy Year, granting to those pilgrims who should visit Canterbury Cathedral the same remission of penance which was to be obtained at Rome during the Jubilee time.

The next Jubilee, that of 1450, in the reign of Nicholas V, was a very famous one, and it passed all previous records in the solemnity of its observances and the numbers who attended it. In his Bull of the 19th January 1449, Nicholas had abrogated the regulation of Urban VI as to the time of celebrating the great indulgence, and reverted to the longer interval of half a century determined by Clement VI.

The "Golden Year" opened on Christmas Day, 1449, and an immense concourse of pilgrims flocked

[1] *The Makers of Modern Rome*, pp. 399–400.

[2] Vol. xxvii. p. 573. See Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vol. ii. p. 25.

to Rome from every country in Europe. An eye-witness[1] compared the bands of pilgrims to the flight of starlings or the march of myriads of ants. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini,[2] who in 1459 himself became Pope, taking the name of Pius II, estimates that 40,000 people entered Rome daily. Christoforo a Soldo, the Brescian chronicler, says : "A greater crowd of Christians was never known to hasten to any Jubilee—kings, dukes, marquises, counts, and knights ; in short, people of all ranks in Christendom daily arrived in such multitudes in Rome that there were millions in the city. And this continued for the whole year excepting in the summer, on account of the plague, which carried off innumerable victims. But almost as soon as it abated in the cold season the influx again commenced." [3]

The canonisation of St. Bernardine of Siena on Whit-Sunday, the 24th May,[4] was one of the great events of the Jubilee.[5] St. Peter's was splendidly decorated for the occasion. A lofty throne was erected for the Pope, who was surrounded by all the cardinals then in Rome, as well as by many archbishops and bishops. Every detail of the rite of canonisation was carried out with the greatest solemnity and splendour, the Pope himself pronouncing the panegyric of the saint. Two hundred wax lights were kept burning, and the whole expenses amounted to 7,000 ducats, which were defrayed by the towns of Siena and Aquila.[6] According to the *Cronaca di Bologna* there were present fourteen cardinals, twenty-four bishops, and more than 2,000 Frati of the

[1] Manetti, J., *Vita di Nicolai V*, 924. See Pastor, vol. ii. p. 77 (English edition). The whole of the account of this and the following Jubilee is based upon that of Pastor.

[2] *Historia Friderici III*, p. 172.

[3] *Ist. Bresc.*, 867.

[4] Pastor, vol. ii. p. 81.

[5] Vittorelli, *Historia de' Giubilei Pontificii*, p. 292.

[6] Niccola della Tuccia, 214.

Observance, these latter all being entertained at the Pope's expense.

Numbers of pilgrims were lodged at the Convent of the Ara Cœli, among them being the Spaniard Diego of Alcala, afterwards canonised. The vast crowds who went on pilgrimage to Rome, especially during the Jubilee years, were the occasion of many foundations there for the reception of the sick and travel-worn. The origin of the German Hostelry of Our Lady at the Campo Santo, near St. Peter's, has been assigned to the Jubilee of 1300; this is uncertain, but it dates probably from the fourteenth century. A second German hospital, that of the "Anima," was founded in the Jubilee year of 1350. In the Jubilee of 1450 Alfonso Paradinas, Bishop of Rodrigo, erected a Spanish hospital which, together with its church, was dedicated to St. James. There were also confraternities, like the famous arch-confraternity of the Holy Trinity, which was founded at a later date by St. Philip Neri, giving help and shelter to needy pilgrims, especially in the years of Jubilee.

The Roman chronicler Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro has left a very vivid and naïve picture of this Jubilee of 1450. A few passages may be quoted here.[1]

"I recollect," he says, "that even in the beginning of the Christmas month a great many people came to Rome for the Jubilee. The pilgrims had to visit the four principal churches—the Romans for a whole month, the Italians for fourteen days, and the Ultramontanes for eight. Such a crowd of pilgrims came all at once to Rome that the mills and bakeries were quite insufficient to provide bread for them. And the number of pilgrims daily increased, wherefore the Pope ordered the handkerchief of St. Veronica

[1] *Cronache Romane*, pp. 16–20. See Manni, pp. 63–66; also Pastor, vol. ii. We have in part availed ourselves of the translation of the "*Cronaca*" there given.

to be exposed every Sunday, and the heads of the apostles Saints Peter and Paul every Saturday; the other relics in all the Roman churches were always exposed. The Pope solemnly gave his benediction at St. Peter's every Sunday. As the unceasing influx of the faithful made the want of the most necessary means of subsistence to be more and more pressing, the Pope granted a plenary indulgence to each pilgrim on condition of contrite confession and of visits to the churches on three days. This great concourse of pilgrims continued from Christmas through the whole month of January, and then diminished so considerably that the innkeepers were discontented, and everyone thought it was at an end, when, in the middle of Lent, such a great multitude of pilgrims again appeared, that in the fine weather all the vineyards were filled with them, and they could not find sleeping-room elsewhere. In Holy Week the throngs coming from St. Peter's, or going there, were so enormous that they were crossing the bridge over the Tiber until the second or third hour of the night. The crowd was here so great that the soldiers of St. Angelo, together with other young men—I was often there myself (says Paolo)—had often to hasten to the spot and clear a passage through the throng with sticks in order to prevent serious accidents. At night many of the poor pilgrims were to be seen sleeping beneath the porticos, while others wandered about in search of missing fathers, sons, or companions, so that it was pitiful to see them. And this went on till the Feast of the Ascension, when the multitude of pilgrims again diminished because the plague came to Rome. Many people then died, many, more particularly, of the pilgrims; all the hospitals and churches were full of the sick and dying, and they were to be seen in the infected streets falling down like dogs. Of those who with great difficulty, scorched with heat and covered with dust, departed

from Rome, multitudes fell victims to the terrible pestilence, and graves were to be seen all along the roads even in Tuscany and Lombardy." [1] Manni tells us that the officials in charge of the hospital of Sta Maria Nuova in Florence showed great charity to the pilgrims who fell ill by the way, sending out mules and muleteers, as far even as Siena, to bring in all those whom they found to the hospital, where they were carefully tended. The Pope himself left Rome for Fabriano, but returned in September, when with the colder weather the pestilence ceased and the pilgrims again poured in. To quote our chronicler [2] once more: "So many people came to Rome that the city could not contain the strangers, although every house became an hotel. Pilgrims begged, for the love of God, to be taken in, but it was not possible. They had to spend the nights out of doors. Many perished from cold; it was dreadful to see them. Still such multitudes thronged together that the city was actually starving. Every Sunday numerous pilgrims left Rome, but by the following Saturday all the houses were again fully occupied. If you wanted to go to St. Peter's, it was impossible to reach it on account of the masses of men that filled the streets. St. Paul's, St. John Lateran, and Sta Maria Maggiore were crowded with worshippers. All Rome was packed so full that one could not pass along at all. When the Pope gave his solemn blessing, all the open spaces in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's, even the surrounding vineyards, from which the loggia of the benediction could be seen, were densely packed with pilgrims, but those who could not see him were more numerous than those who could; and this continued until Christmas."

In the crowds that flocked to Rome this year were included many distinguished visitors. There were

[1] *Cronache Romane*, p. 74.
[2] Paolo dello Mastro, *Cronache Romane*, p. 18.

saints and sinners, secular princes and ecclesiastics, humanists, and those whom the humanists called barbarians. Amongst the first class may be mentioned the celebrated St. John Capistran, also St. Jacopo della Marca, and the Spanish friar St. Didacus, or Diego.[1] The ecclesiastics could hardly be numbered, but few attracted so much attention as James, Archbishop of Treves, who came accompanied by 150 knights. Among the secular princes who also made the pilgrimage were Duke Albert of Austria, the brother of the Emperor; William, Earl of Douglas; and several German potentates.[2] But a terrible occurrence took place on the 19th December,[3] when an unusually dense crowd had assembled at St. Peter's to venerate the *Santo Sudario*. At about four o'clock in the afternoon the Pope sent word that benediction would not be given that day, and the people hurried home by the bridge of St. Angelo. Some horses and mules took fright, and a block ensued. Many pilgrims were pushed down, trampled under foot, or fell into the Tiber. The castellan of St. Angelo caused the gates of the bridge to be closed to prevent others entering, but the fatal crush lasted for an hour. The dead were carried into the Church of San Celso. "I myself carried twelve dead bodies," writes the chronicler Paolo dello Mastro, "and it was pitiful to look upon one hundred and seventy-two corpses; the weeping and lamenting of those who found fathers, mothers, sons, and brothers among the dead resounded in the streets *usque ad mediam noctem*. Truly, it was misery to see the poor people, with candles in their hands, examining the rows of dead who lay there." At midnight, by the Pope's

[1] Manni, pp. 60, 61.

[2] The safe conduct issued by Henry VI to William, Earl of Douglas, and his suite to pass through Calais is still preserved. See *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. iv. No. 1229.

[3] Manni, p. 62, and the *Cronache Romane*, p. 18, say the 18th, but this is an error. See Pastor, vol. ii. p. 96 n.

orders, one hundred and twenty-eight were carried to the Campo Santo, near St. Peter's, where they were left all Sunday for identification. The remainder of the bodies were brought to Sta Maria della Minerva, or buried in St. Celso. "Their garments were given in charge to Benedetto, my father," says Paolo, "and put in one part of the church, and many *quærebant suos*,—many searching those clothes, learned their loss." [1] The Pope was deeply distressed at this appalling catastrophe, and, to guard against future accidents, had a row of houses in front of the bridge cleared away so as to form an open space. Two chapels, dedicated respectively to St. Mary Magdalene and the Holy Innocents, were erected at the entrance of the bridge, and Mass was said daily for the souls of the victims. Clement VII replaced these chapels by the statues of the Holy Apostles which now stand there.

Large sums of money were brought as offerings by the pilgrims, and we learn that money was scarce at this time, because "it all flowed into Rome for the Jubilee." Nicholas V used the resources thus obtained partly in restoring public buildings, partly in the promotion of art and learning; but the poor were not forgotten in the distribution of his wealth.[2] Early in the following year the Pope, generally at the request of their respective sovereigns, despatched legates to certain foreign countries, to extend the Jubilee indulgence to the faithful who were unable to visit Rome.[3] The conditions usually enjoined were a visit, or series of visits, to the cathedral of the Diocese, and an alms to be offered there for a specified intention. Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa was one of these

[1] Another account of this accident is contained in an anonymous diary at the British Museum. (MS. Addit. 8434, fol. 29.)

[2] Manetti, *Chronica di Perugia*, 924 *seq.* See Manni, pp. 70–72. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, Nicholas V, pp. 68 and 92.

[3] Further details are given in Noethen, *Geschichte aller Jubeljahre*, p. 63.

legates, a most holy prelate, who by his labours and preaching throughout Germany did much towards reforming the abuses which were then rife in the Church.

No one who reads the account of his preaching of the Jubilee in Pastor or Janssen can doubt of the great moral good produced by this opportunity of grace. "Nicholas de Cusa," says Pastor, "looked on the work of ecclesiastical reform as one of purification and renovation, not of ruin and destruction, and believed that man must not deform what is holy, but rather be himself transformed thereby. And, therefore, first of all and above all, he was a reformer in his own person. His life was a mirror of every Christian and sacerdotal virtue. Justly persuaded that it is the duty of those who hold the chief places in the Church to exercise the office of preachers, he everywhere proclaimed the Word of God to both clergy and laity, and his practice accorded with his preaching. His example was even more powerful than his sermons. Detesting all vanity, he journeyed modestly on his mule, accompanied only by a few Romans, and scarcely to be recognised, save by the silver cross which the Pope had given him, and which was mounted on a staff and carried before him. On arriving in any town his first visit was to the church, where he fervently implored the blessing of heaven on the work he had taken in hand. Many princes and rich men brought him splendid presents, but he kept his hands pure from all gifts. Among his companions was the holy and learned Carthusian, Dionysius van Leewis, a man filled with the most ardent zeal for the renovation of monastic life." [1]

It would be beyond the scope of this little book to attempt to trace in detail the history of the sixteen

[1] Pastor, *Popes* (English Translation), vol. ii. pp. 107, 108. This companion was the well-known writer and Scripture-commentator, the Venerable Denis the Carthusian (Dionysius Carthusianus).

Jubilees which have followed that of Nicholas V. Let it be sufficient to say that by a constitution of Pope Paul II, published in 1470, the interval to be observed between one *anno santo* and the next was reduced to a quarter of a century, a rule which has been adhered to ever since. Only one Pontiff has ever ruled the Church long enough to be in a position to celebrate two successive Jubilees. This was Pius IX, who became Pope in 1846 and died in 1878. Owing, however, to the political conditions of the times, it was judged to be impossible to invite the faithful to flock to Rome either in 1850 or in 1875. In these two years, therefore, no *anno santo* was kept in the holy city according to the forms which tradition has prescribed.

CHAPTER II

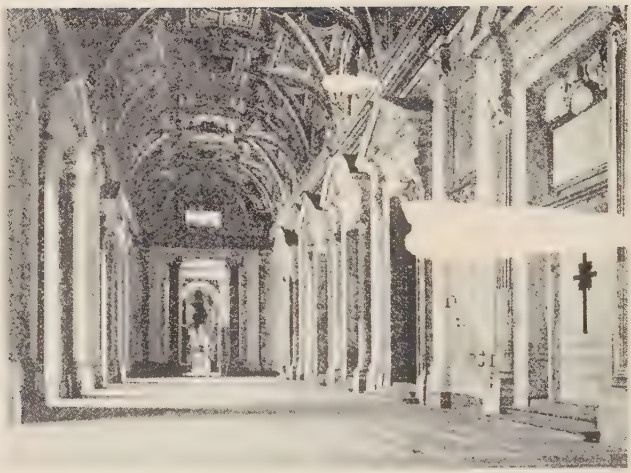
THE HOLY DOOR OR GOLDEN DOOR

CARDINAL WISEMAN in his *Recollections of the Last Four Popes* has left us a brief description of the scene at the opening of the Jubilee of 1825, just a century ago, of which he was an eye-witness.

"The visitor to Rome," he writes, "may easily have noticed that, of the five great doors opening from the porch into the church, the one nearest to the palace is walled up, and has a gilt metal cross upon it, much worn by the lips of pilgrims. On inquiry he will be told that it is the *Porta Santa*, or 'Holy Gate,' like the 'King's Gate' at Jerusalem, never to be opened except for most special entrance.

"Only during the year of Jubilee is this gate unclosed, and it is for the purpose of opening it, as symbolical of the commencement of the Jubilee, that the Pope has descended to the vestibule. The immense church is empty, for the doors have been kept closed all day; an innumerable multitude, beginning with royal princes and descending to the poorest pilgrims from southern Italy, eagerly wait in the portico and on the steps without. After preliminary prayers from Scripture singularly apt, the Pope goes down from his throne, and, armed with a silver hammer, strikes the wall in the doorway, which, having been cut round from the jambs and lintel, falls at once inwards, and is cleared away in a moment by the active *sanpietrini*.[1]

[1] These are a body of workmen of "every arm," retained in regular pay by St. Peter's, and wearing a particular dress. They keep the church in its perfect repair and beautiful condition almost without external help. Their activity and intelligence is quite remarkable. (Cardinal Wiseman's note.)



THE PORTICO OF ST. PETER'S, IN WHICH TAKES PLACE THE CEREMONY OF OPENING THE HOLY DOOR, WHICH IS SEEN ON THE RIGHT.

In the distance the statue of Charlemagne, erected for the Jubilee of 1725.

To face p. 31.

"The Pope then, bareheaded and torch in hand,[1] enters the door, and is followed by the Cardinals and his other attendants to the high altar, where the First Vespers of Christmas Day are chanted as usual. Well does the ceremonial of that day remain impressed on my memory, and one little incident is coupled with it. Among the earliest to pass, with every sign of reverence and devotion, through the holy gate, I remember seeing with emotion the first clergyman who in our times had abandoned dignity and ease, as the price of his conversion. He was surrounded, or followed, by his family in this pilgrim's act, as he had been followed by them in his 'pilgrimage of grace.' Such a person was rare in those days, and indeed singular; we little thought how our eyes might become accustomed, one day, to the sight of many like him."[2]

Such is, in brief, the function which, beyond dispute, has been carried out in the opening of the Holy Door since the beginning of the sixteenth century. But now comes the question, how did this ceremony originate, and what is its connection with the granting of the great Jubilee indulgence at the beginning of the *Anno Santo*? According to a view which for a long time past has been generally accepted, the whole rite was the invention of John Burchard, the famous master of ceremonies to Pope Alexander VI, and was never used in any form before the Jubilee celebrated by that Pontiff in the year 1500. This theory can hardly be correct, for it is certain that the central idea of the throwing open of the gates, as symbolical of the outpouring of God's mercy, was of much older date, and

[1] The torch or candle is held in the left hand, and in his right hand the Pope holds the *crux hastata*, or long-handled cross, which serves him in place of a crozier. One of the medals struck for this Jubilee of Leo XII represents this detail of the ceremony. Contrary to Cardinal Wiseman's statement above, the Pope is depicted as wearing a mitre, but this is an inaccuracy of the artist.

[2] Cardinal Wiseman's *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, pp. 270, 271.

did not originate in a pontificate of such evil name as that of Alexander VI.

But let us first see, in Burchard's own diary, what that famous ecclesiastic himself has to say upon the matter. His account amounts to this:

In the third week of Advent, 1499, the Pope summoned the ordinary Penitentiaries to hold counsel with him at St. Peter's, in order to decide upon the conditions of the indulgence, the faculties to be granted, and other measures to be taken in view of the approaching Jubilee. The Pope wished them to think these matters over, and then to make their report to him. On Wednesday, 18th December, Alexander came down to St. Peter's in the afternoon to hear what had been resolved upon, and "then," says Burchard, "I took the opportunity to show His Holiness the place in the chapel of St. Veronica which the Canons of the Basilica declare to be the so-called golden door which was wont to be opened by the Sovereign Pontiffs upon each *hundredth* [1] year of the Jubilee, which I had also frequently heard said and maintained in common talk (*in vulgo*). His Holiness was of opinion that it ought to be opened in the same way at the time of the inauguration of the Jubilee, and he gave directions to have blocks of marble arranged and cut for the adorning of the said door to such height and width as the contour of the door showed on the inside, giving orders also that the walls in front and at the side of the said chapel should be entirely removed, that the people might pass through more freely." [2]

Then Burchard tells us that the Pope further gave directions for the appointment of four religious men, two of whom should patrol the basilica by day and the other two by night, to see that no impropriety took place, since the golden gate was not to be closed either

[1] Quæ singulo centesimo jubilei anno consuevit per summos pontifices aperiri.

[2] *Diarium* (ed. Thuasne), vol. ii. p. 582.

day or night during the whole of the coming year of Jubilee, and that the same was to be observed in the other three basilicas.[1]

" Orders were likewise given to Thomas Matarati, the master mason, to have the surface of the wall picked away within the contour of the golden door so as to leave a thickness of only four or five fingers' breadth, but without on any account breaking a hole right through, so that when His Holiness at the hour of vespers on the above-mentioned Vigil of the Nativity should set hand to it, it might fall easily and without delay, leaving free entrance to all.

" When all these arrangements had been made, he, the Pope, returned to the Palace, and the said master mason set to work upon the charge entrusted to him for the adornment of the door . . . and then it was discovered[2] that there had never been any door at all in this place, but that the wall was solid and even, built into the other part of the wall on either side. There had only been an altar in that place which we thought was a doorway. But since the populace had this idea, I was unwilling to disturb them in their belief, which could only foster devotion."

Again, when speaking of the ceremonies at the opening of the Jubilee in St. Peter's, Burchard describes how the three cardinals delegate were commissioned " to open the golden doors " at the other three basilicas. Whereupon Burchard remarks : " I gave to his Lordship the Archbishop of Ragusa a copy of the versicles and prayer (which he, Burchard, had arranged for the occasion) for his own information and guidance as to how he was to proceed in the opening of the golden door of the basilica of St. Paul ; but neither the Abbot nor the monks had any idea which was the golden door in the said basilica ; accordingly, he opened, as he

[1] *Diarium* (ed. Thuasne), vol. ii. p. 583.

[2] Thuasne (ii. p. 583) prints *co-opertum*, an obvious blunder for *compertum*.

afterwards informed me, three doors in the front of the church which had been walled up, rather, as I conceive, to keep out the bad air than for any other reason. But this is a matter of little moment, for the unlearned are saved by faith alone ; but it seemed to me ridiculous that all the religious of the said monastery should remain in ignorance of a point so important."[1]

It seems clear, from these last words, that Burchard was himself a firm believer in the tradition of the golden door. He would never have embarked upon this elaborate mystification, recording all the details in his diary as he does, if he had known quite well all the time that there was no tradition of any golden door beyond what he himself had invented. We may take the existence of some such vague rumour as certain ; the whole difficulty lies in deciding how far the rumour had any foundation in fact. It is important to notice that the alleged golden door in the chapel of St. Veronica at St. Peter's was supposed to have been opened only in the Jubilee of the *hundredth* year. Such, at least, was the view of Alexander VI, and he not only introduced into his Bull of 20th December the statement that he intended to open the door of St. Peter's, which was accustomed to be opened in the Jubilee of the hundredth year,[2] but he made Burchard add the word *centesimus* in the prayer drawn up for the occasion, together with a reference to the supposed practice of opening such a door. On the other hand, it seems certain that no formal Jubilee had been celebrated at Rome in the last centesimal year, 1400. The pilgrims, indeed, had come, mostly from the countries which recognised the authority of the anti-pope, and Boni-

[1] Burchard's *Diarium*, vol. ii. p. 600.

[2] " Quo tempore (*i.e.* the first vespers of the Nativity) portam dicte Basilice Beati Petri *centesimo* quoque anno jubilei pro majore fidelium devotione aperiri solitam, etc."—Burchard, ii. p. 586. Be it noted that Burchard does not state that the " golden door " of the Lateran was only opened in the hundredth year.

INSIDE VIEW OF THE PORTA SANTA IN ST. PETER'S.

To face p. 34.

face IX had accorded them a gracious reception, but no Jubilee Bull seems to have been published, and it is most unlikely that any such solemn function could have been enacted as that of the "golden door." Again, the hundredth year before that (1300) had been the occasion of the first promulgation of the great Jubilee indulgence, and it is quite inconsistent with the circumstances of that promulgation, as already related, and with the silence of Stefaneschi and the chroniclers that any unwalling ceremony should then have taken place. It therefore seemed natural to suppose that the Roman tradition of the "golden door of the hundredth year" was a fiction, and that before the time of Burchard there never had been any ceremony which involved the walling up or unwalling of such a door with masonry.

When we come to ask, however, whether there is any foundation earlier than the sixteenth century for the association of the Jubilee indulgence with the ceremony of the opening of a door, we are on very different ground. Leaving for a moment out of account all questions of symbolism, and also the scriptural allusions which might easily suggest such a function, we may turn first to one or two coincidences which rest upon certain evidence and which are sufficiently striking. Amongst those who came to Rome for the second great Jubilee, celebrated in 1350, fifty years after that of Boniface VIII, was a certain famous canonist, Albericus a Rosate. He tells us in one of the articles of his great Dictionary or Lexicon of Canon and Civil Law, how "together with his wife and three children, he was present, by God's favour, at the aforesaid indulgence (of 1350), and all of them, by the mercy of God, returned safe home again." Alberic copies what he believed to be the authentic Bull of Clement VI promulgating the Jubilee, but he adds also a second document about which he remarks, "With regard to the aforesaid indulgence there was

another form which came into my hands. Whether it is really a papal document or not I am unable to say, but it is a fine piece of work, and so I append it here." The supposed Bull gives an account of the coming of a deputation to Clement from Rome to ask for the reduction of the Jubilee interval from a hundred years to fifty. "And because," says the Pope, "the envoys had a long story to tell, we gave instructions that a Consistory should be summoned on the morrow, but in the night-time preceding the Consistory there appeared to us in a vision a certain venerable personage bearing two keys in his hand, who addressed to us the following words, '*Open the door*, and from it send forth a fire by which the whole world may be warmed and enlightened'; and on the following day we said a Mass of our Lady, for the intention that if the vision were really from God it might appear a second time, but if it were a phantasy or illusion that it might vanish for good and all. After making this prayer, however, we beheld the vision again on the following night," etc.

What is more, another text of the same spurious Bull, printed by Amort, makes the suggestion of this *aperi ostium* still more explicit. "We knelt down," the Pope is represented as saying of himself, "baring our knees and raising our hands to heaven, and then we opened and unbarred for sinners the holy gate of paradise in the following terms." [1] Nothing could be more natural than that such language should be remembered and should produce its effect when any sort of ceremonial was devised for the opening of the Jubilee. Moreover, although there is no likelihood that this Bull is authentic, it is certainly of contemporary date, and many of its details are of curious

[1] Genibus flexis ac denudatis et manibus compositis versus cœlum aperuimus peccatoribus sanctam portam paradisi et reseravimus per hunc modum. Amort, *De Origine Indulgentiarum*, Venice, 1738, p. 70. On this spurious document see Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses*, vol. ii. p. 115–116.

interest as manifesting the feeling of the times. In any case, the document became widely known. A summary of it may be found in the Chronicle of the English Cistercian Abbey of Meaux, in Yorkshire,[1] where it is coupled with an extremely unpleasant account of the life of Clement VI, its reputed author. Although the summary is short, the words of the vision, "*Aperi ostium*—open the door," etc., are retained.

The next piece of evidence is still more striking. It is found in the "Dialogue concerning the Year of Jubilee," written in anticipation of the Jubilee of 1450 by the jurist, Felix Hemmerlin. The writer's tone is sneering and disaffected,[2] and fully prepares one for the more open attack on the papacy which he published on returning to the same topic in his *Recapitulatio* shortly afterwards. But the character of Hemmerlin's opinions is for the moment immaterial. We are concerned here only with his allusion to the "golden door."

Quoting the Gospel of St. Mark, one of the two interlocutors in the Dialogue remarks: "Enter ye by the narrow gate, because broad is the gate and spacious is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there are that enter by it, but narrow is the gate and strait is the way that leadeth to life, and few there are that find it. Now, of this gate we will make a most fitting application to the golden gate of Rome, which will be opened [3] in the celebration of our Jubilee at St. John Lateran and the basilica of St. Peter,

[1] *Chronicon Monasterii de Melsa*, vol. iii. p. 88.

[2] Dr. Pastor, strange to say, has expressed a comparatively favourable estimate of Hemmerlin's *Dyalogus de Anno Jubileo*. See *Geschichte der Päpste* (fourth edition), vol. i. p. 416.

[3] *Dyalogus de Anno Jubileo*, printed at Basle in 1497, sig. P2, v°. The important words are: "Ad hanc igitur portam faciemus applicationem congruissimam ad Romæ portam auream, quæ aperietur in nostre jubilationis solemnitate apud S. Joannem Lateranensem et beati Petri principis apostolorum basilicam pro nunc prout per quinquaqinta annos steterat muris firmissimis obstructa."

the prince of the Apostles, at the present time, seeing that for fifty years it had stood most securely walled up."

Taken in connection with Burchard's plain statement that there "was a place in the Chapel of St. Veronica at St. Peter's which the canons of the basilica declare to be the golden door, as it is called, which it was the custom for the Popes to open every hundredth year of the Jubilee," this passage of Hemmerlin must be admitted to be not a little remarkable. But we have even stronger and more explicit evidence than this. Niccola della Tuccia in his *Cronaca di Viterbo* states unequivocally, in connection with the Jubilee celebrated by Martin V in 1423, that Martin "caused the (holy) door at St. John Lateran to be thrown open,"[1] and his language leads Pastor to infer that this "golden door" at St. John Lateran may even have been opened at the first *anno santo* under Boniface VIII. A medal with the bust of this last-named Pope and a representation of the Lateran door clearly suggests the same, but the medal is usually accounted spurious, and it seems in any case certain that for the first Jubilee of 1300 no visit to the Lateran was prescribed. Again, in the booklet entitled *Reliquiæ Rhomanæ Urbis atque Indulgentiæ*, may be read the following clear statement: "Also in the said church of the Lateran is a certain door which is called the golden door. This is opened in the Jubilee year. There every man who is penitent has all his sins forgiven; that is to say, so far as regards punishment and guilt."[2] This testimony, however, it might be objected, being

[1] Pastor, *Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 416, note.

[2] "Item in dicta ecclesia lateranensi est quædam porta quæ dicitur aurea porta et ista aperitur in anno jubileo; ibi cuilibet penitenti remittuntur omnia peccata scilicet a parte pena et culpa" (*sic*)—*Reliquiæ*, col. 10. The book (see Hain, 13855), according to Mr. Proctor, was printed by Johann Amorbach at Basel. It is not dated, but to judge from the types used it must be reckoned among the earliest productions of that printer, *i.e.* of about the year 1483.

of German origin, cannot perhaps be depended upon as evidence of a Roman tradition. But no such exception can be taken to the statement of the Florentine merchant, Giovanni Rucellai, who himself went to the Jubilee of 1450 and has left us a description of the Holy City as he saw it.[1] He describes the principal basilicas and other shrines in order ; and in his notice of the church of St. John Lateran, speaking of the five doors by which it may be entered, he remarks : " Of these five doors, there is one which is always walled up except during the Jubilee year when it is broken down at Christmas, when the Jubilee commences. The devotion which the populace has for the bricks and mortar of which it is composed is such that, at the unwalling, the fragments are immediately carried off by the crowd, and the foreigners (*gli oltremontani*) take them home as so many sacred relics. It is said that the face of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is seen in the tribune of the High Altar of the same church, passed through that door ; and out of devotion everyone who gains the indulgence passes through that door, which is walled up again as soon as the Jubilee is ended." [2]

Finally, we have the important testimony of a Spanish traveller, Pedro Tafur, who visited Rome about 1437. He introduces a new conception into the symbolism of the Holy Door by connecting it with the right of sanctuary, which, he asserts, existed in pagan times for all who crossed the threshold of the *puerta tarpea* (the Tarpean Gate), where the Lateran now stands. At the request of the Emperor Constantine, after his

[1] This evidence is further confirmed by the German *Rombüchlein*, a block-book, printed about 1475, or perhaps earlier, to which attention has been directed by Dr. Paulus, *Zeitschrift f. k. Theologie*, vol. xxiv. p. 174. In this mediæval guide-book an account is given not only of the Lateran " gulden phort," but also of that in the Vatican chapel of St. Veronica.

[2] Giuseppe Marcotti, *Il Giubileo dell' anno* 1450, in *Archivio di Storia Patria*, vol. iv. pp. 569, 570.

conversion, Pope Sylvester published a Bull proclaiming the same immunity from punishment for Christian sinners who took sanctuary there. The privilege, however, was grossly abused, and later Popes consequently ordered the door to be walled up at all seasons save certain times of special grace. Formerly the door was only unwalled once in a hundred years, but this afterwards was reduced to fifty, and now, says Tafur, it is opened at the will of the Pope.[1] All this, no doubt, is pure folk-lore, but the fanciful legend of St. Sylvester, his connection with the baptism, of Constantine and the building of the Lateran, was fondly cherished by the Roman populace, and, as we shall have occasion to see, was not treated with disdain even in pontifical documents. The vagueness and confusion which inevitably attend the transmission of folk sagas of this description, make it, however, an impossible task to unravel the tangle of any historical problems with which they were connected; and the difficulty is complicated by the existence of a good deal of ecclesiastical symbolism which also was very fluid and far from consistent in its application. The *aperi ostium* (open the door) of the spurious Jubilee Bull of Clement VI beyond all doubt must have been inspired by the remembrance of the power of the keys conceded to the Prince of the Apostles; but with this we must recall the fact that four days before Christmas Eve on which the Jubilee always begins, the Church sings the middle antiphon of the series of seven "Great O's":

O Clavis David.

"O key of David and sceptre of the house of Israel, who openest and none shutteth, who shuttest and none openeth; come Thou and bring forth the captive from

[1] "El Papa mandó çerrar é que no se abriese si non de çiento á çiento años; é agora como el Papa lo quiere disponer." (*Andanças e Viajes de Pero Tafur*, p. 37.)

PENITENTS KNEELING BEFORE THE BISHOP AT THE CHURCH DOOR.

From a Pontifical of 1520.

BEFORE THE READMISSION OF THE PENITENTS.

Pontifical of 1520.

BISHOP LEADING THE PENITENTS INTO THE CHURCH.

To face p. 41.

the house of bondage who sitteth in darkness and in the shadow of death."

Already in the eighth century the Anglo-Saxon poet Cynewulf had made these antiphons the theme of one of his finest compositions, and the Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin, the friend of Charlemagne, died with this very antiphon *O Clavis David* upon his lips.

So again the whole discipline of the Church regarding public penance was associated with the expulsion of the penitents from the House of God (reinforced with many texts reminiscent of the banishment of Adam and Eve from paradise) and their solemn readmission through the church door on Maundy Thursday. A similar rite seems to have been practised in connection with the Portiuncula indulgence of which we have record during part of the thirteenth century, and, of course, continuously afterwards. As the indulgence for visiting the little church could only be gained on the one day alone, crowds used to assemble for hours or even days beforehand. The door of the church had to be kept closed until the proper hour arrived, and then with much ceremony the door was opened and the throng outside were allowed to enter. It would seem that there was a popular belief that no one could validly gain the indulgence until the priest first crossed the threshold, holding in his hand the document in which St. Francis had written down the privilege, a document which was solemnly brought from Assisi for the purpose. So great was the crush on the occasion of this opening that we hear of many people losing their lives in the attempt to gain admittance, and precautionary measures were taken to lessen the danger by erecting barricades to keep off the crowd. It is not easy to ascertain the precise nature of the ceremony in the earlier ages. There is no probability that the door of the little church was ever walled up, but that some kind of formal opening was looked upon as essentially connected with the indulgence may be

gathered from the phrase *aperire ecclesiam*, which occurs more than once in early documents referring to the Portiuncula.[1]

From all these analogies we infer that no kind of opening ceremony would more naturally have suggested itself on occasion of an indulgence of which the visiting of a church was the essential condition than the knocking at a door (as is exemplified in our Palm Sunday procession, etc.) or the breaking down the masonry with which it had been obstructed.

[1] See those quoted in M. P. Sabatier's article in the *Revue Historique*, 1896, cf. B. de Amanatis *Constitutiones Clementis V* (c. 1388), fol. 225 b. "Nam habent ex more singulis annis die prima Augusti, hora vesperarum vel circa, aperire dictam ecclesiam, asserentes," etc.

CHAPTER III

THE CEREMONIES OF THE JUBILEE

In the still unpublished diary [1] of Francesco Mucanzio, Papal Master of Ceremonies at the close of the sixteenth century, we find that distinguished rubrician in December, 1574, discussing at some length the ritual to be used in the unwalling of the Holy Door for the forthcoming *Anno Santo*.

He tells us that as the time for the ceremony drew near he went to His Holiness Pope Gregory XIII and submitted to him a memorandum concerning the preparations to be made, and the things to be then observed. It appears, however, that his colleague in the office of Master of Ceremonies also went to the Pope with a similar programme, which he declared to be that which had been followed by Julius III in the year 1550. "It differed very little from mine," says Mucanzio, "except in the versicles and responses. Those which I had set down were taken from an ancient roll (*a quodam rotulo antiquo*) used in the time of Clement VII, and of these versicles there was probably no accurate copy forthcoming in 1550 on account of the pillage and disasters to which the city had been subjected [he refers presumably to the sack of Rome in 1527]; hence they had been somewhat altered. My opinion was that out of the two sets which we had before us, a third more appropriate than either might have been drawn up, but when the matter was proposed

[1] The copy here quoted is contained in MS. Addit. 26811 at the British Museum.

in the Congregation of Cardinals appointed for the revision of ceremonies, they decided that as regards the versicles and prayers the precedent of Julius III's time should be adhered to in every particular. "The fact is," adds Mucanzio, "we have nothing prescribed about this matter in the Book of Ceremonies,[1] and on this account I think that in printing the new *Ceremoniale* care should be taken that the ritual for opening the Holy Door be included in it."

Mucanzio's suggestion has, in one sense, never been carried out. Catalani, who revised and annotated the *Ceremoniale Romanum* in an edition dedicated to Benedict XIV in 1750, does not include in his two stout folios any mention of the office for the opening of the Holy Door. Nevertheless, the rite now followed differs in hardly any respect from that which was agreed upon in the time of Julius III, and, indeed, to any one but a Master of Ceremonies the variations from the form originally devised by Burchard and modified by Alexander VI, would appear matter of little moment. Mucanzio is at pains to copy out not only the ritual prescribed in his "ancient roll" of Clement VII, but also that of Julius III, and to these he appends a third form composed by a private friend of his, one Curzio Franco, Canon of St. Peter's. We cannot help regretting that this last was never examined by the Congregation of Sacred Ceremonies, for it certainly seems in many ways more appropriate and more full of apt symbolism than that actually in use.

Although the extracts previously quoted from Rucellai and other fifteenth century writers prove incontestably that the ceremony of the building up and unwalling of the Holy Door is older that the time of

[1] The *Ceremoniale Romanum*; not to be confounded with the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*. The former, which is concerned only with the ceremonies of the Papal Court, was the work of Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, and was compiled in 1488. The latter, which deals with the ceremonial of all episcopal functions, is a work of much later date, and was printed for the first time in the year 1600.

Alexander VI, there is no reason to distrust Burchard's statement that he, as just mentioned, drew up the service which Alexander, with a few modifications, sanctioned and adopted for use. In any case, the account given by Burchard in his *Diario* appears to be the earliest description which we possess of the details of any such ceremony. It will be interesting, therefore, to have it before us in order to compare it with the observances of later times.

"On Wednesday, the 24th of December," says Burchard, "being Christmas Eve, before our most Holy Lord (the Pope) came down to the basilica of St. Peter to sing Vespers, the marble doorway, with its ornaments, was all arranged in the spot where the 'Golden Door' was said to exist, the same marble framework being wider by two palms than the recess which had been supposed to be a door, but agreeing with it in height. The wall had had part of its thickness removed on the inner side, though not sufficiently, as far as the portion covered by the new marble door-posts placed on either hand. Moreover, near the centre, at the height of six palms from the ground, it had been completely perforated for the breadth of one palm, and had then been filled up again with loose bricks, without mortar, so that our Lord the Pope might strike his blows in that spot when he came to open it. Thereupon, on the Vigil of the Nativity, about the twentieth hour (*i.e.*, about two p.m.) before celebrating the Solemn Vespers of the Feast in the Vatican basilica, the Pope vested in cope, and wearing the Tiara, holding a gilded candle lighted in his hand, and accompanied by cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, each of whom carried lighted candles, and also by the clergy, both regular and secular, of the city, was carried in the *sedia gestatoria* in solemn procession to the portico of the basilica.

"Having reached the door to be opened under the portico of St. Peter's, the choir commenced singing

certain versicles proper to the occasion, and the Pontiff then said the following prayer [1]:—

"Let us pray. O God, who through Moses, Thy servant, didst ordain for the people of Israel a fiftieth year of remission and Jubilee, graciously grant to us Thy servants that we may happily begin this hundredth year of Jubilee instituted by Thy authority, so that obtaining therein the pardon of a true indulgence and remission of all our sins when the day of Thy summons shall arrive, we may enjoy glory unspeakable and happiness without end. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

"The Holy Father then proceeded on foot to the door which was to be opened, and having received from the hands of Master Thomas Mataracci, the master mason and foreman of the fabric, a hammer such as is commonly used by masons, he struck three or more blows upon the opening which had been made in the middle of the door, causing the loose bricks which filled it to fall to the ground. The Pope then returned to his seat, while the workmen proceeded to demolish the masonry on either side as far as had been indicated. This took about half an hour, our choir meanwhile singing antiphons and repeating them without intermission. The opening having been cleared, our Holy Father, descending from his seat, advanced to the door on foot, and upon reaching the threshold knelt down and prayed with uncovered head for the space of half a *miserere*, still keeping his lighted candle in his left hand. He then rose, and while I (Burchard) supported him on his left side by his arm and by the hand which held the candle, the Pope entered through the said door of the basilica, myself with him, and a little bit in front of him, Master Bernard, my colleague, also along with us supporting the Pope on the right. Then

[1] This prayer is practically identical with that still in use; though the words "fiftieth year" and "hundredth year" are now omitted and some other slight verbal changes have been made.

closely following him came his cross with the sub-deacons, cardinals, and prelates in a great crush, in which order we all proceeded to the high altar of the basilica." [1]

A few additions were made to this ceremonial by Clement VII. In the first place, this Pope decreed that the Blessed Sacrament should be exposed in the Sistine Chapel, whence the procession started; and, secondly, the hammer made use of by the Pontiff in striking the Holy Gate was to be of silver gilt. Also when entering the door, while still holding the candle in the left hand, as did Alexander VI, Clement bore a long-handled cross in his right. From an account of the ceremonies with which the Holy Gate was opened at a later date by Clement VIII (in 1600), left to us in the diary of Paolo Alaleona, a canon of the Vatican, and at that time Master of the Papal Ceremonies, we also learn that as soon as the gate was opened, guns were immediately fired by the Swiss Guard in the Piazza of St. Peter's, as well as from the Castle of St. Angelo. All these modifications are still retained in the ceremonial used for the opening of the Holy Door, and it may be interesting to set down here an account of the whole procedure which was printed in English as far back as the year 1699. Although this translation of the Latin original cannot be commended for its elegance, it gives a substantially accurate description of what is still done, and it will be sufficient to interpolate here and there a few supplementary notes. The reader may feel an interest in remembering that this was the guide to the Jubilee which was in the hands of the fashionable young dandies of 1700 when the playwright Farquhar produced his comedy of a *Trip to the Jubilee*, and when Protestant England devoted such an unusual amount of attention to the ceremonies of the Roman Court. The broadside from which it is taken is headed :—

[1] Burchard, *Diarium* (ed. Thuasne), vol. ii. p. 599.

"A true and exact account of all the Ceremonies observed by the Church of Rome at the opening, during the Progress, and at the Conclusion of the next approaching Jubilee in the year 1700. Taken and translated into English from the Latin Original, printed at Rome by Order from the Pope." [1]

"The solemnity of the Jubilee itself," so the writer informs us, "begins upon Christmas Eve, just before the Vespers, by a ceremony which deserves particularly to be taken notice of, which is the opening of the Holy Door. For the better understanding of which, it is to be known that this Holy Door is one of the doors of St. Peter's Church in the Vatican, which is always shut, nay, even bricked-up during the interval betwixt the jubilees, which always begin by the opening of this door.

"On the 24th day, therefore, of December, which is the eve of the Nativity of Christ, all the doors of these four churches where there are any Holy Doors are shut up by His Holiness's order, so that nobody can pass through till such time as they are opened with the accustomed ceremonies.

"After dinner, about the time of the Vespers of this great eve, a most solemn procession is made, at which assist the ambassadors of foreign princes then residing in Rome, the magistrates of the city, all the penitentiaries and prelates abiding at Rome; all the chapters, fraternities, the Roman clergy, the College of Cardinals, and the Sovereign Pontiff in person, each according to his rank and quality.

"Thus they go in succession with a great cross

[1] The whole of what is here given and more besides is printed on one side of a large single sheet almost the size of the *Daily Mail*. It is subscribed, "London, printed by D. Edwards in Fetter Lane 1699, Price twopence." A copy is in the British Museum. This broadside was reprinted in London in pamphlet form for the Jubilee of 1750. Since then it has been included also in Scott's edition of *Somers' Tracts*, vol. ix. 1813. I have substituted *door* for the word "gate" by which the translator rather absurdly renders *porta*.

before them to the chapel of the apostolic palace (*i.e.* the Sistine), where the whole company being entered, the Holy Father, with all there present, fall upon their knees before the Sacrament; in the meantime that many officers are employed in lighting flambeaux for the cardinals to hold as a sign of joy. Then the Pope throws some incense upon a chafing-dish,[1] with a most profound reverence before the altar; after which he begins the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which is continued to the end by a concert of music, and sung distinctly, to represent the holy fathers in Limbo (!) [2] From thence this procession goes on in the same order as before to St. Peter's Church, being followed by the Holy Father in person, who is carried in a chair to the Holy Door, which, as well as all the rest, is kept close shut up. Everybody having taken his place, the Holy Father gets out of his chair, and with a lighted wax-taper in his hand walks up three steps to another chair, placed for that purpose just by the Holy Door. After he has reposed a little he rises, and, turning himself towards the Holy Door, he knocks thrice with a silver hammer on the Holy Door which is to be opened, and sings likewise three several times the following verses, unto which the musicians who compose the chorus answer at each time :—

[1] The editions of 1699 and 1750 spell "chaving dish." To Catholic ears this translation will sound quaint enough, but a still more curious English rendering of the rite of thurification is to be met with in a brief account of the opening of the Jubilee of 1600, which was published in London in that year (not in 1660 as erroneously stated in the Museum Catalogue), by John Wolfe. "This done," we are there told, "our Holy Father, being still on his knees, poured incense upon the Holy Sacrament, after which they began to sing Veni Creator Spiritus." It would seem from such passages as these that the use of incense, whatever may be the practice of the present day, cannot have been very familiar to English churchmen in the seventeenth century.

[2] Our author's meaning in this passage is not very clear. Ricci (*Giubilei Universali*, p. 10) says that the versicle *Aperite mihi portas justitiæ* was said by the Pope in imitation of Christ, who, when entering Limbo to liberate the holy patriarchs, said *Attollite portas principes vestras*.

V. Aperite mihi portas justitiæ.	*V.* Open unto me the gates of justice.
R. Ingressus in eas confitebor Domino.	*R.* When I am entered I will praise the Lord.
V. Introibo in Domum tuam Domine.	*V.* I will enter, O Lord, into Thy house.
R. Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum, in timore tuo.	*R.* I will adore Thee in Thy fear in Thy temple.
V. Aperite portas quoniam nobiscum Deus.	*V.* Open the gates, because the Lord is with us.
R. Qui fecit virtutem in Israel.	*R.* Because He has made known His strength in Israel.

" Then the Pope sits down in the chair again, and says :—

V. Domine exandi orationem meam.	*V.* O Lord, hear my prayer.
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.	*R.* Let my cry reach Thy ears, O Lord.

" At the same instant that the Pope goes from the Holy Door towards his chair, the masons begin to demolish the wall wherewith the Holy Door had been bricked-up, and as they are carrying off the materials the Pope goes on thus :—

V. Dominus vobiscum.	*V.* The Lord be with you.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.	*R.* And with thy spirit.

" Oremus. *Actiones nostras quæsumus Domine*, etc.

" Prevent, we beseech Thee, O Lord, our actions by Thy holy inspirations, and carry them on by Thy gracious assistance, that every prayer and work of ours may begin always from Thee and by Thee be happily ended. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

" This prayer being done, the chorus sings the psalm *Jubilate Deo omnis terra, servite Domino in lætitia*, etc., during which time the people crowd up as near as they can to the rails, and the penitentiaries in their sacerdotal vestments, wash the head-piece, posts, and the threshold, and, in short, the Holy Door, with holy water ; which being done, the Pope, as he is approaching to enter the Holy Door, says the following verses, and is answered by the chorus :—

[*V. Hæc dies quam fecit Dominus.*	[*V.* This is the day the Lord hath made.
R. Exultemus et lætemur in ea.	*R.* Let us rejoice in it.
V. Beatus populus tuus Domine.	*V.* Happy is Thy people, O Lord.
R. Qui facit jubilationem.]	*R.* Which enjoys this Jubilee.]
V. Hæc est porta Domini.	*V.* This is the gate of the Lord.
R. Justi intrabunt per eam.	*R.* The righteous are to enter it.
V. Domine exandi orationem meam.	*V.* O Lord, hear my prayer.
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.	*R.* And let my crying come to Thee.
V. Dominus vobiscum.	*V.* The Lord be with you.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.	*R.* And with thy spirit.

" Let us pray.

" O Lord, who by Thy servant Moses didst institute among the children of Israel the Jubilee and year of remission, grant through Thy goodness to us, who have the honour to be called Thy servants, to commence happily this present Jubilee, ordained by Thy authority ; and in which it has been Thy will to set open to Thy people in a most solemn manner this door through which to enter into Thy temple, to offer their prayers in the presence of Thy Divine Majesty ; that thereby having obtained plenary and absolute remission of all our sins, we may, at the day of our departure out of this world, be conducted through Thy mercy to the enjoyment of the heavenly glory, through Jesus Christ. Amen.[1]

" This prayer being ended, a cross is given into the Pope's hand, who, kneeling down in the Holy Door, sings the *Te Deum Laudamus*, etc., and afterwards, as he is entering through the door, the chorus go on singing *Te Dominum*. He is no sooner entered through the door into the body of the church but the chairmen clothed in red, attending for that purpose, take him up in a chair and carry him straightways to the great altar of the Church of St. Peter, where, being set down,

[1] All this exactly corresponds with the ritual now in use, except that in the second set the versicles and responses enclosed in square brackets are no longer retained.

he arises out of the chair, and after some time spent in prayers before the Holy Sacrament he mounts to a throne, erected on purpose for this use, and begins the Vespers, which, according to custom, are sung for the Feast of the Nativity of our Saviour."

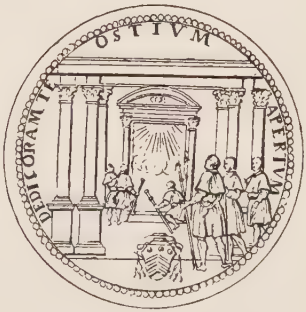
To interrupt here for a while the description of our narrator, it may be noted that even before the day of the function itself the Master of Ceremonies had a good deal to think about. Stands for distinguished visitors and for the more favoured of the nobility and clergy had to be erected in the portico; directions had to be given for the ringing of the bells in all the churches of the city on the three previous days at the same hour as that appointed for the opening; provision had to be made for keeping off the crowd and for maintaining order; holy water had to be blessed the day before,[1] and to be made ready in the portico, where it would be wanted by the penitentiaries in washing the door jambs; instructions had to be given to the cardinal legates who were to open the Holy Doors at the other three basilicas; notifications of all kinds had to be served to the clergy of Rome whose presence was required at the ceremony; above all, the *Ceremoniarius* had to arrange with the masons and to make sure that the door would collapse, without too much noise and dust, at the proper moment. Obviously this could not be ensured without taking the masonry practically to pieces, and with this necessity the practice was introduced at a very early date of removing beforehand the receptacle full of medals, which was always buried by the Holy Father himself at the base of the wall when the Holy Door was bricked up at the end of the year of Jubilee. It seems an amiable weakness of the Italian character that such little perquisites should be coveted with an almost incredible keenness.

[1] See the *Ragguaglio delle solenne Funzione e Ceremonie usate nell' apertura della Porta Santa*, 1775. This duty, however, primarily concerned the Monsignore Sagrista.

REVERSE OF TWO MEDALS OF CLEMENT VIII, 1600.

MEDAL STRUCK BY BENVENUTO CELLINI IN 1534.

JUBILEE MEDAL OF CLEMENT X, SHOWING THE OPENING OF THE HOLY DOOR.



JUBILEE COIN OF CLEMENT X, SHOWING THE PILGRIMS PASSING THROUGH THE HOLY DOOR.

To face p. 52.

Mucanzio has left us a lively description of the anxiety shown to obtain a share in the spoils even as early as the Jubilee of 1575.

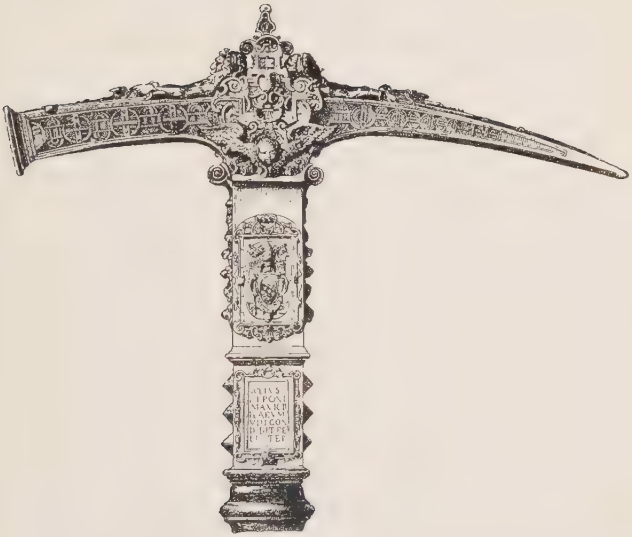
Two days before Christmas, he tells us, when the brickwork of the walled-up door had to be loosened, there was great competition among the master masons as to who should be selected for the work, which was finally entrusted to the foreman of the San Pietrini, and to the chief mason of the papal palace. "Both were eager for the task, calculating that they would be able to carry off a prize of value in the shape of gold or silver medals from the demolition of the door. But in this expectation they were disappointed, for very few silver medals were found, in fact, only eleven in all, each of the weight of two crowns (*scudi*) or thereabouts, and the rest all bronze medals, few in number and small in size. Of these nearly all the silver medals came into the possession of the *Camerieri Segreti* of his Holiness, who had posted their servants there on the look-out on purpose to secure them. And I, who had been watching on the spot pretty well the whole night, that I might obtain some few for devotion's sake and for a souvenir, secured with the greatest difficulty a solitary medal of silver, which I afterwards gave to the illustrious Cardinal de' Medici, and a few other bronze ones which I divided with my colleague Louis." [1]

In the earlier days of the ceremony it would seem that the blows delivered upon the surface of the *Porta Santa* were not so entirely a formality as they afterwards became. Mucanzio records with zest how Gregory XIII took the silver hammer with both hands from the Grand Penitentiary, and dealt the wall a vigorous thump [2] (*percutiendo viriliter ambabus manibus*) as he sang each versicle.

[1] MS. Addit. 26811, fol. 127 v°.

[2] In the diary of Blasio Baronio de Martinellis, who was Papal Master of Ceremonies in 1525 at the Jubilee of Clement VII, we read that the Pope struck the door *fortiter et viriliter*, vigorously and manfully. Brit. Museum MS. Addit. 8445, fol. 59 v°.

In the first effort the handle broke, and it cut the Pope's finger, but what remained of the fractured implement was sufficient to allow the ceremony to proceed, and Mucanzio expressly notes that Gregory accomplished his purpose and broke a small hole right through the brickwork. After the Pontiff came the penitentiaries, standing on either side of the door, and provided with mallets of their own. They too struck vigorously (*fortiter percutiebant*), and being assisted by the workmen, who had arranged some ingenious expedient on the inner side, the door soon fell with a crash. The moment it was down there ensued, at least on this particular occasion, a general scramble—the workmen within, the soldiers outside, the populace crowding behind, all precipitated themselves upon the fragments of bricks and mortar. Nothing could stem the torrent, the guards were too busy securing their own share to be of any use, and though, as Mucanzio tells us, he shouted to them at the top of his voice, they paid not the least attention. The result was that a good two hundred had crowded and fought their way through the door before the Pontiff crossed the threshold. So great was the uproar during the whole scene that no one could hear the versicles and prayers sung by the Pope, or the responses made by the choir. The latter, as our Master of Ceremonies records, religiously went through the antiphons and psalms allotted to them, but their voices were completely drowned by the tumult. On the other hand, so great was the pressure of the crowd that it was absolutely impossible for the penitentiaries to sweep the threshold and wash the lintels with holy water, as custom and due order prescribed. More than half an hour elapsed before the service could be continued, but at last a way was cleared for the Pope, the remaining versicles were sung, the *Te Deum* intoned, and the artillery of St. Angelo burst forth in deafening peals. It was only after vespers were



JUBILEE HAMMER USED BY JULIUS III, ATTRIBUTED TO BENVENUTO CELLINI.

(Plon Nourrit et Cie.)

To face p. 54.

concluded that the Pope and his attendant prelates received the sad intelligence that six or eight of the crowd had been trampled to death in the tumult which they had just witnessed. It can well be understood that the incident cast a gloom over the whole city.[1]

One would have thought that this scene of confusion, with its disastrous sequel, would have served as a lesson for all time, but so great was the eagerness to obtain possession of the fragments of the Holy Door[2] that, even at the next Jubilee of 1600, the measures taken to secure the orderly performance of the ceremony were not entirely successful. This time it seems to have been the Pope's own *camerieri* who were the principal offenders.

"When the prayer (*Actiones nostras*) was concluded," says the then Master of Ceremonies, Paolo Alaleona, "the Pontiff sat down, resumed his mitre, and took the candle again in his hand. In the meanwhile the choir sang the psalm *Jubilate*, and the penitentiaries sponged the threshold and doorposts with holy water and wiped them dry with linen cloths, but as soon as the door was open there were a number of people, especially among the papal *camerieri*, who darted through before the Pope, in defiance of the order that had been appointed. But it is always difficult on such occasions," adds Alaleona philosophically, "to carry out the order which has been arranged beforehand, and it was a consolation to think that this was the only mishap which occurred.

[1] MS. Addit. 26811, fol. 128.

[2] It will be remembered that Rucellai expressly mentions this eccentric manifestation of popular devotion or superstition in 1450, in almost the earliest reference we have to the walled-up door. The English account of 1600 says: "In the meantime the said workmen and all the people, moved with devotion, tooke and bare away the stones and mortar of the said gate with great diligence and dexteritie, that all whatsoever was found (great or little) was voyded from thence, as it may be said, in the twinkling of an eye," p. 6.

It was due to the curiosity and eagerness of so many people to get fragments of the mortar of the Holy Door, but those that rushed in were not allowed to pass out again." [1]

While the main function is proceeding at St. Peter's, the Cardinal Legates are busy in opening the other Holy Doors. Our account of 1700 goes on :—

" On the same day, and at the same hour, His Holiness deputes three cardinal legates to go and open the other Holy Doors of the churches, to wit, that of St. Paul, that of St. John Lateran, and that of Sta Maria Maggiore, which is performed with the same ceremonies and prayers as have been mentioned just now. The choice falls commonly upon two archbishops and the dean, who go from thence with a most magnificent cavalcade to perform this function, which is like a proclamation to all the Christian world that the treasure of the church is set open, and distinguishes the true Catholics from the heretics and Jews."

It may be remarked upon this that, as a matter of fact, the cardinals appointed legates are usually the arch-priests of the basilicas. But if neither the dean nor the subdean of the Sacred College are the arch-priests of either the Lateran or Liberian basilicas, the former, or, in case he is unable, the latter, is delegated to open the gate of St. Paul's.[2]

The formula used by Clement X when deputing the cardinals to open the Holy Gates ran as follows: " We appoint your lordships legates *a latere* to open the golden doors of St. Paul, of St. John, and of St. Mary Major, granting you all the faculties requisite to enable you to grant the plenary indulgence to all who shall enter in by them."

The legates formerly set out from St. Peter's, but

[1] Diary of Paolo Alaleona, Brit. Museum, MS. Addit. 8454, fol. 141, v°.

[2] Moroni, vol. viii. p. 203.

PONTIFICAL BLESSING GIVEN FROM ST. PETER'S IN THE JUBILEE OF 1575.

From a rare engraving in the British Museum.

To face p. 57.

were dispensed from so doing by Benedict XIII, and now each of them starts from his own palace to go to the basilica he is deputed to open.[1]

Various slight modifications in the minor details of the function become evident when we compare the accounts of the different Masters of Ceremonies, but they are hardly of a nature to interest the general reader. It will be quite sufficient to say, by way of specimen, that the diary of Paolo Alaleona, from which we have just been quoting, lets us know incidentally that the Pope wore the *falda*[2] underneath his cope; that he no longer used the tiara in this function, as Alexander VI had done, but the mitre; that he was supported on either hand in crossing the Holy Door by two cardinal deacons; that two auditors of the Rota lifted the border of the *falda* and cope in front of him, and two chamberlains bore the train of the same vestments behind; and that with the two papal Masters of Ceremonies there was also in attendance the apostolic sub-deacon to receive from His Holiness the long-handled cross when he had passed into the basilica and seated himself once more on the *sedia gestatoria*.

The Swiss Guard, who are wont to figure very conspicuously in representations of the ceremony at the Holy Door, were not only employed to keep off the crowd, but we are told that a detachment of them fired a salute in the piazza immediately the Pope had crossed the threshold of the *Porta Santa*, while the trumpets sounded, the drums rolled, the church bells were pealed, and the heavier guns were discharged from the Castle of St. Angelo. On the other hand, the Swiss were not responsible for the custody of the Holy Door throughout the year. This charge,

[1] Zaccaria.

[2] This is a vestment peculiar to the Pope. It is a kind of long petticoat with a train, and is worn under the cope, or, more strictly, the *manto*.

at least in the last century, was specially entrusted by the Pope after the ceremony, with a suitable speech, to the Collegio of the Cavalieri of SS. Peter and Paul.[1] The office was not wholly a sinecure, for the Holy Doors in the four basilicas had to be watched continuously night and day. It would appear, consequently, that those selected for the task were apt to regard it as a dubious privilege. As early as the Jubilee of Clement VII (1525) we are told in the diary of Blasio Baronio de Martinelli: "After vespers had been sung the Pope summoned three or four of the knights of St. Peter, and entrusted to them the custody of the Holy Door, over which they were faithfully to keep watch and ward night and day, without intermission, in company with the canons of the basilica. At this the said knights were not greatly pleased, neither was I on their account, but the matter had been so determined by his Lordship the Bishop of Pisa; and the three or four knights in question duly kissed the foot of the Pontiff and took their leave."[2]

In an interesting little manuscript volume of the eighteenth century, written seemingly for the use of the maestro of the papal choir, and formerly in the possession of the celebrated rubrician, Monsignore Pio Martinucci, a characteristic note occurs at the end of the ceremony in the following terms: "Let the Signor Maestro of the Choir remind the Master of Ceremonies to assign a suitable station to our College of Choristers, that it may be possible to follow the

[1] See the *Distinta Relazione delle Sagre Funzioni fatta della Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Benedetto XIV nell' aperire la Porta Santa*. Rome, 1750.

[2] MS. Addit. 8445, fol. 59 v°. The knights of SS. Peter and Paul were a body of mounted guards, founded by Leo X in 1520 or 1521. It consisted of 400 horsemen. At the first foundation of the guard, each member contributed 1000 gold florins to the papal treasury, which at that time was at a very low ebb. In return various privileges were granted them, and their eldest sons were declared nobles and counts of the Lateran. In 1825 the care of the Holy Door was entrusted to the Confraternities.

CASTLE OF ANGELO FIRING A SALUTE.
(From Falda's engraving of the "Possesso.")

To face p. 59.

ceremonies and sing the responses to his Holiness promptly."

But we shall now do well to return to the printed account of the Jubilee prepared for the English tourists of 1700.

"There being four several churches, which each have a Holy Door, this has occasioned some dispute which of them ought to have the precedency in the performance of the ceremony. The Church of St. John Lateran is both the first in rank and enjoys some prerogatives before all the other churches of the city of Rome, as appears by the constitutions of Pope Gregory XI and Pope Pius V. However, when any of these pontifical functions, which have a more strict relation to the Pope's authority, dignity, and majesty, are to be performed with the utmost splendour, such as the canonisation of saints, the coronations and benedictions of kings, the Church of St. Peter has always had the preference given her before all the rest. And it is upon this same score that this church justly claims the preference in this ceremony, both as to the time and other circumstances, the Holy Door of St. Peter's Church being the first that is opened by the Pope's own hands. It has also been called in question by some whether any other person besides the Pope himself has any authority to open the Holy Door; where it is to be observed that in case the Jubilee has already been published before by the deceased Pope, and the cardinals are not entered into the conclave in order to proceed to the election of a new Pope, it belongs to the Cardinal of Ostia, dean of the church, to open the first Holy Door in the Pope's stead.

"A few days before Christmas Eve, the last day of the Holy Year, proclamation is made that upon the next eve of the Nativity of Christ his Holiness intends to wall up the Holy Door of the Church of the Vatican, which day being come, a procession is made from the

apostolic palace to St. Peter's Church in the same manner as has been mentioned before, and, after some time spent in prayers before the Holy Sacrament, the vespers are sung, and three cardinals deputed to shut up the Holy Doors of the three other churches. No sooner have these three prelates and their company received the benediction from His Holiness, and are marching in a most splendid cavalcade to perform this function, but the Pope and cardinals who assist at the ceremony, being presented with lighted wax candles, they march in good order with the cross before them towards the Holy Door which is to be shut up, the Pope being carried after them in a chair under a canopy, and as they pass by the chapel where the Holy Sacrament of the altar is deposited, he offers up his thanks to God for the happy conclusion of the Holy Year, which done, the Holy Pontiff begins the anthem, *Cum Jucunditate.* Whilst the chorus is singing this anthem and the psalm, *Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum,* the procession moves from the chapel and towards the Holy Door, where, after some prayers, the Pope, standing under his canopy, turns his face to the Holy Door, without his mitre, and a wax candle in his hand, and thus imparts his benediction to the materials, which are ready at hand to close up the Holy Door, in the following words :—

V. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.
R. Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

V. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.
R. Ex hoc nunc, et usque in seculum.

V. Lapidem quem reprobaverunt ædificantes.
R. Hic factus est in caput anguli.

V. Domine exandi orationenm meam.
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Our help is in the name of the Lord.
R. Who hath made heaven and earth.

V. The name of the Lord be praised.
R. Now and for ever.

V. The stone which was refused by the artificers.
R. Is now become the corner stone.

V. O Lord, hear my prayer.
R. And let my crying come before Thee.

V. Dominus vobiscum.
R. Et cum spirito tuo.
Oremus.
Summe Deus, qui Summa, Media, et Infima custodis, qui omnem creaturam intrinsecus ambiendo concludis, sanctifica, et benedic has creaturas lapidis, calcis, et sabuli, Per Christum, etc.

V. The Lord be with thee.
R. And with thy spirit.
Let us pray.
Great God, who protectest the highest, that is in the middle, and the lowest, who sanctifiest Thy creatures, bless these Thy creatures, the stones, the mortar, and the sand, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"After which the High Pontiff, the clergy, and all the rest that assist at the ceremony, come out through the Holy Door just before it is going to be closed up, and the Holy Father besprinkles the materials with holy water and some incense, and putting again his mitre upon his head, with a linen cloth round his middle, he gives thereby to understand that he professes himself to be the servant of the true servants of God, and that, after the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, he is not exalted to the papal dignity and put in St. Peter's chair to be served, but to serve others. In this posture the grand penitentiary presents to him a silver trowel, gilt, wherewith he takes up three several times some mortar out of a basket, carried by the Master of the Ceremonies, which mortar he spreads and plasters all along the lower part, upon the threshold of the Holy Door, according to the vision of the prophet Amos, who saw the Lord with a mason's trowel in his hands. The threshold being thus covered all over with mortar, the Pope throws upon it, both to the right and the left, as well as in the middle, several medals of gold and silver, representing the triumphant Jerusalem, the walls of which are described (Apocal, c. xxi.) to be built of precious stones. The Pope after this covers the mortar and medals with three square stones, and whilst he is busy in performing this function, says, with a low but intelligible voice, these following words :—

In fide et virtute Jesu Christi Filii Dei Vivi, qui Apostolorum Principi dixisti ; Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam, collocamus lapidem istum primarium, ad claudendam hanc Portam Sanctam singulo Jubilei anno reserandam. In nomine Patris, etc.

In the faith and by the authority of Jesus Christ, the only Son of the living God, who did say to the chief of the apostles, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will found My Church,' we lay this first stone towards the closing of the Holy Gate, which is not to be opened again till the next Jubilee. In the name of God the Father, etc.

"After the Pope has fastened these three square stones with mortar, and the master mason has drawn his line, the grand penitentiary, with a trowel in his hand, lays likewise a stone upon those laid by the Pope, being assisted by the other penitentiaries there present, to convince the world that they are the Pope's coadjutors in the administration of the Sacrament of Penitence. For each of them, in his due order, lays hand to the work, under the direction of His Holiness, and raises the wall which is to close up the Holy Door to a considerable height, whilst the chorus sings the hymn, *Cœlestis urbs Jerusalem*,[1] etc. ; which

[1] Blessed City, Heavenly Salem,
Vision dear of peace and love,
Who, of living stones up-builded,
Art the joy of Heaven above,
And with angel cohorts circled,
As a Bride to earth dost move.

From celestial realms descending
Bridal glory round her shed,
To His presence, decked with jewels,
By her Lord shall she be led :
All her streets and all her bulwarks
Of pure gold are fashioned.

Bright with pearls her portal glitters ;
It is open evermore ;
And by virtue of His merits,
Thither faithful souls may soar
Who for Christ's dear name in this world
Pain and tribulation bore.

being ended, the Sovereign Pontiff washes his hands and says these following words :—

V. Salvum fac populum tuum Domine.	*V.* Lord, save Thy people.
R. Et benedic hareditati tuæ.	*R.* And bless Thine inheritance;
V. Fiat Misericordia tua Domine super nos.	*V.* Let Thy mercy, O Lord, appear unto us.
R. Quemadmodum speravimus in te.	*R.* According as we have put our hopes in Thee.
V. Mitte nobis Domine auxilium de sancto.	*V.* Lord, send us help from Thy sanctuary.
R. Et de Sion tuere nos.	*R.* And defend us from Sion.
V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.	*V.* O Lord, hear my prayer.
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.	*R.* And let my crying come unto Thee.
V. Dominus vobiscum.	*V.* The Lord be with you.
R. Et cum spirito tuo.	*R.* And with thy spirit.
Oremus.	Let us pray.
Deus qui in omni loco Dominationis tuæ, clemens et benignus exauditor existis exaudi nos quæsumus et præsta, ut inviolabilis permaneat hujus loci sanctificatio, et beneficia tui Muneris in hoc Jubileo Anno Universitas Fidelium se impetrasse lætetur ; per Dominum nostram Jesum Christum, etc.	O God, who at all times and in all places givest to us innumerable proofs of Thy mercy and goodness, hearken unto our prayers, and grant that this place may always be sanctified before Thee, and that all faithful Christians may rejoice in having been partakers of Thy mercies in this Jubilee, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

"This prayer being ended, the Holy Father seats himself upon the throne, and whilst twelve brick-

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Many a blow and biting sculpture
Polished well those stones elect,
In their places now compacted
By the Heavenly Architect,
Who therewith hath willed for ever
That his palace should be decked.

Laud and honour to the Father,
Laud and honour to the Son ;
Laud and honour to the Spirit,
Ever Three and ever One :
Consubstantial, Co-eternal,
While unending ages run. Amen.

Dr. Neale's translation, one line altered.

layers—to wit, six on the right and as many on the left hand—are busy in closing up and raising the wall to the top of the Holy Door, the choir sings *Lauda Jerusalem Dominum*, etc., *Lætatus sum in his*, etc., and other such like psalms. The wall being finished by the masons, the High Pontiff concludes the whole ceremony by imparting his benediction with a plenary indulgence of the Jubilee to all there present, who are not sparing on their side in their acclamations of joy, and making ten thousand vows for the prosperity and preservation of His Holiness. Which being done, the *Te Deum* is sung for a thanksgiving for the many mercies received by the people in this Jubilee, who, thus well satisfied and filled with spiritual joy, return to their respective homes as the Holy Father retires to the apostolic palace."

The account which we find in this seventeenth century tract still represents with almost perfect accuracy the course of the ceremonial at the present day.

In the early days of the ceremony, when the device of the canvas screen had not been thought of and when they were contented to employ a much smaller number than twelve masons to close the aperture, the process of walling-up the door was a somewhat tedious operation. Mucanzio tells us that in the Jubilee of Gregory XIII it occupied more than an hour. The Pope was urged to take his departure before the wall was completed, but he determined to sit it out, much to the dissatisfaction of the cardinals, two of whom could not even find seats, and, such was the crush of the throng standing around, that it was quite impossible to bring fresh benches or chairs to the spot. Mucanzio himself, whose disappointment about the medals we have recorded above, put the delay to profit to do a stroke of business. The silver trowel used by the Pope to lay the first bricks of the door had been given into his keeping as Master of Ceremonies, and while all were seated, waiting for the

masons to finish their work, Mucanzio took occasion to approach the Pope and whisper a petition that he might be permitted to retain the trowel as his own perquisite. He painted in such eloquent colours the additional labour and fatigue which had been entailed upon him by the celebration of the Jubilee, and the thanklessness of his official duties, that Gregory smiled good-naturedly and granted his request. Possibly he felt that, with an impatient crowd without and the cardinals in a bad humour within, the Master of Ceremonies for the moment had him at his mercy.

The silver-gilt hammer used in the opening ceremony is generally more remarkable as a work of art than the trowel which figures in the concluding function of the Jubilee. It has long been the custom to present the hammer after the function to some royal or distinguished personage. Thus Leo XII, in 1825, gave it to the Duchesse d'Angoulême, daughter of Louis XVI. Clement VII, who seems to have been the first Pontiff to use a "golden" hammer made for the occasion, presented the implement to Cardinal Pucci, who subsequently added three little hammers to his coat-of-arms. That which broke in the hand of Gregory XIII in 1575 was repaired and presented to the Prince of Bavaria. Formerly the silver hammers used by the cardinal legates at the other three basilicas were made at the expense of the Pope, and were sent to the respective cardinals with his blessing. They usually bore the following inscription:—

Malleus . a P.O.M. . . . pro Aperitione
Portæ Aureæ Apostolica Benedictione Munitus.

In 1900 the hammers used by the cardinal delegates were subscribed for by the Catholics of the different European countries.[1]

[1] That used at the Lateran basilica, for instance, in 1900 by Cardinal Satolli was given by the Catholics of France, while Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli at Sta Maria Maggiore was presented with the very beautiful silver hammer, which he employed, by the clergy and people of Italy.

After the Holy Doors are closed a marble tablet is placed over each inscribed with the dates of the opening and closing, and bearing the name of the Pope or cardinal who performed the ceremonies.

The legates at the other basilicas are assisted by the penitentiaries attached to them, and the cardinals also used formerly to place medals under the bricks stamped with their own coats-of-arms or with some commemorative inscription in the same manner as the Pope does at St. Peter's. The penitentiaries are made prominent in the ceremonial both of the opening and closing of the Jubilee, because to them primarily are committed those extended faculties for reserved cases which constitute one of the chief objects of the Great Pardon, as it was formerly called. It is they who, in a more especial sense, are made the Pope's delegates in the work of the reconciliation of sinners. The wand or rod, which is still the emblem of their office, dates back to a time when the castigation of the offender invariably formed part of the ceremony of reconciliation. Even now, the form which stands printed in the official *Pontificale Romanum* for the public absolution of an excommunicated person, prescribes that the penitent is to kneel before the bishop while the *Miserere* is being said, the bishop to hold a rod in his hand, and to strike the offender lightly between the shoulders as each successive verse is pronounced.

When the Holy Door is closed the Cross of Christ, the standard of our salvation, is put on it in token of the victory won by the faithful over the evil one; and also to accomplish the precept of Daniel the prophet, chap. xiv., *Close the door and seal it with thy ring*, that is with the Holy Cross, the seal of the King of kings, the High Priest Christ.[1]

[1] Ricci, p. 16. He does not seem to have been moved by a particularly happy inspiration in adding the following comparison: "*Siccome appresso i Gentili erano conosciute le donne infame dall' iscrizione del nome e condizione loro, che tenevano sopra le Porte*

The ceremonial proper to the Holy Year may be said to be confined to the two functions which mark its opening and its close. The visits of the Sovereign Pontiffs to the four basilicas or to the *Scala Santa* could hardly be regarded as belonging to the domain of ritual, even when they were attended with a certain amount of solemnity, which was not usually the case. Again, the exposition of relics, and more particularly of the *Volto Santo* at St. Peter's, though repeated with much greater frequency during the Jubilee years, was familiar at ordinary seasons, and the solemn canonisations and beatifications which commonly enough take place in the *anno santo* have no strict connection with the Jubilee itself.

delle loro case, come dice Seneca, cosi i veri Cristiani saranno conosciuti dal segno e nome di Cristo scritto e portato sempre nelle fronti loro."

CHAPTER IV

THE VISITS TO THE BASILICAS

THE Bull *Antiquorum* of Pope Boniface VIII, which was the foundation of all subsequent legislation regarding the Holy Year, prescribed only two conditions for the gaining of the great indulgence. The first and more important was the reception in proper dispositions of the Sacrament of Penance; the second, the visits to be paid during a certain specified number of days to the basilicas of the Apostles in Rome. In the fulfilment of this latter condition there was, of course, involved for all, except the actual residents in the city, a considerable amount of toil and fatigue, for such a pilgrimage to Rome under mediæval conditions was usually by no means a pleasure jaunt. It was the *labor itinerationis*—the hardships of the journey—which seemed to Cardinal John Le Moine, the contemporary of Boniface and the glossator of his Bull, to constitute that adequate motive which was required for the valid granting of so ample an indulgence.[1] Consequently, the inhabitants of Rome,

[1] According to the generally received theory of the mediæval canonists, the power of binding and loosing, in which was involved the right to dispense the "treasure" of the Church, was committed to the Roman Pontiff to use according to his discretion. None the less there was bound to be some proportion of congruity between the indulgence granted and the good work to which it was annexed. If this proportion were altogether wanting, many authorities held that the indulgence was, *ipso facto*, invalid. It may also be worth while to note in this place that when an indulgence was granted for any good work, this always presupposed, whether confession were mentioned or not, the state of grace in

who had no painful journey to undertake, were required to pay just twice as many visits to the basilicas as those who came from a distance, an arrangement which, with slight modifications, has been maintained in principle down to the present time.

This is not the place to enter upon a discussion concerning the teaching of the Catholic Church with regard to pilgrimages. The practice is older than Christianity, and it is founded upon an instinct which is deeply embedded in the human heart. There is no age of the Church in which we have not abundant evidence of its prevalence in all countries and amongst all classes. Such a detailed narrative as that of the *Peregrinatio Aetheriæ* [1] shows that it was as fully developed in the fourth century as in the fourteenth. Moreover, when the goal of the pilgrimage was not the shrine of any local saint, but the Mother Church of Christendom, the tombs of the great Apostles, the spot where the voice of the Vicar of Christ made itself heard, controlling the practice and confirming the faith of all true believers throughout the wide world, the most unfriendly critic will surely recognise that it was a legitimate and logical outcome of the system to regard such a journey to Rome as one of the most meritorious of works of devotion. It was in this way that the outlying parts of Christendom were knit to their ecclesiastical centre; and under the conditions of life in the Middle Ages, when intelligence was diffused slowly and inaccurately, the very existence of the Church as one body, Catholic and Apostolic, depended upon such means of constant communica-

the recipient. It was the *universal* teaching of mediæval theologians that no one was capable of gaining any sort of indulgence for himself as long as there rested upon his soul the stain of grievous sin still unrepented of. See especially the citations from the canonist, Cardinal John Le Moine, in Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses*, vol. ii. p. 108.

[1] First printed from a MS. at Arezzo by Signor Gamurrini in the *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, Rome, 1887.

tion. Hence it is that in Bede and the early English chroniclers we find that to make a pilgrimage to Rome was the great ambition on this side of the grave of every earnest Christian. From all parts of Europe, but especially from Britian, a constant stream of visitors flowed Romewards, including not only powerful kings like Alfred and Canute, but also the poorest of their subjects; and the practice, while it may have led to abuses in individual instances, wrought the greatest possible benefit to religious society as a whole.

There are writers who in any attempt to attract pilgrims to Rome can find nothing but an unworthy cupidity on the part of the Roman Court, and ignorant superstition on the part of the deluded travellers; but surely this is a narrow and cynical view. It would be hardly more perverse to treat every parent as domineering or selfish who inculcates upon his children the duty of filial respect. Although there may always be a tendency in the ruler to insist unduly upon the merit of loyalty, docility, and devotion to constituted authority, such virtues on the whole undoubtedly make for the good of the body politic, and are not for the benefit of the ruler alone. Not to speak of such men as Charlemagne, or Alfred the Great, or St. Louis, even the humblest pilgrims who came to Rome in the spirit in which the Popes would have had them come, laying aside their strifes, confessing their sins, and, if you will, making their offerings at the tombs of the Apostles, would have furthered in their own degree the union and right government of the world, and would have helped to elevate the moral tone of Christian society. It must never be forgotten that during all that earlier epoch, when the Jubilee indulgence was instituted and in a sense exploited by the Holy See, Christendom was face to face with one ever-present danger which threatened its very existence. We have grown so

accustomed now to think of the Turkish power as effete and quiescent, that it is hard to recall the days when Mohammedanism, both from the south-east and the south-west at once, seemed about to engulf Christian Europe like an incoming tide. Nor, again, should there be left out of account the deep feelings of devotion which were evoked in the hearts of the pilgrims by the religious ceremonies and the sacred associations of Rome. Although we cannot escape the uncomfortable conviction that many of the objects of veneration, even those that called forth the greatest demonstrations of piety, were not the genuine memorials of antiquity which they professed to be, still clergy, people, and pilgrims alike believed in all good faith; and at least the glorious past of Rome, her sites, and her dignity, were real. She was truly the Head and the Mother of Churches; and it was here that the Apostles and martyrs had shed their blood for Christ, and that their tombs might still be visited. We could hardly find a better representative of the mediæval spirit in its more cultured aspect than he whom his contemporary and admirer, Chaucer, calls "Fraunceys Petrarch, the laureat poete,"

> Whos rethoryke sweete
> Enlumined al Itaille of poetrye.

Now, nothing can be clearer than that the atmosphere of Rome during the Jubilee tide of 1350 produced upon Petrarch a deep religious impression, which did not stop short at barren emotion, but which bore fruit in amendment of life. Speaking of certain vanities of his youth, the poet says in a letter to Boccaccio, of all people in the world: "So far as regards this part of human frailty, I trust that by the grace of Christ our Lord I am already entirely delivered from it. For many years past, and more particularly since the Jubilee, which is now seventeen years ago, although I am still hale in body, I am so

free of that plague that I now loathe and detest it a thousand times more than I ever found satisfaction in it." And elsewhere in the same letter—"I went there in a spirit of fervour, because I wished to put an end to the sinfulness of my life, which overwhelmed me with shame." [1] Similarly, in an earlier letter to the same correspondent, written during the year of Jubilee itself, Petrarch did not hesitate to say: "So, now, this is my fifth journey to Rome, and who knows whether it may not be my last, as certainly it is the most happy of all, seeing that the care of the soul is a nobler work than the care of the body, and the glory of heaven is more worthy to fire our aspirations than all the glory of this world." [2] The eloquent scholar met with a serious accident on the way. His knee was badly injured by the kick of a horse, and he was laid up in bed for more than a fortnight. Still, he seems to have recovered sufficiently to make the visits and perform the other works of devotion enjoined on the pilgrims. He took his accident as supplementing the penance his confessor had imposed too leniently, and we find him telling a friend later on that it was providential they did not meet in Rome, "otherwise, instead of visiting the churches *devotione Catholica*—with Catholic devotion—they would, careless of their souls, have wandered about the city with the curiosity of poets—*curiositate poetica;* for, however delightful intellectual pursuits might be, they are as nothing unless they tend to the one great end." [3] And this, be it remembered, was Rome shorn of much of its glory by the long absence of its supreme rulers, a city almost in ruins, with its inhabitants on the brink of rebellion. None the less Petrarch could write:—

"How well it is for the Christian soul to behold

[1] *Epistolæ Seniles*, bk. viii. ep. 1.
[2] *Epist. de Rebus Famil.*, xi. 1.
[3] *Ibid.* xii. 7.

the city which is like a heaven on earth, full of the sacred bones and relics of the martyrs, and bedewed with the precious blood of these witnesses for truth; to look upon the image of our Saviour, venerable to all the world,[1] to mark the footprints in the solid stone for ever worthy of the worship of the nations, wherein is verified to the letter and clearer than the day the word of Isaiah, 'And the children of them that afflict thee shall come bowing down to thee, and all that slandered thee shall worship the steps of thy feet'[2]; to roam from tomb to tomb rich with the memories of the saints, and to wander at will through the basilicas of the Apostles with no other company than good thoughts."[3]

So far from seeming sceptical about the many dubious relics preserved in the Holy City, the poet, in the verse-epistle to Clement VI from which we have quoted on a previous page, compiles a long catalogue of these treasures elegantly and ingeniously worked into metre.

But to turn to the more immediate subject of this chapter, it is interesting to find that the Bull of Boniface VIII, when prescribing the conditions of the Jubilee, makes no mention of the *Sudario* or *Scala Santa* or any other more or less doubtful relic as objects to be venerated during the pilgrimage—these were matters left to the pious devotion of the faithful; but it enjoins only a series of visits to the basilicas of the Apostles, to wit, the Church of St. Peter at the Vatican, and the Church of St. Paul outside the

[1] This must be a reference to the *Volto Santo* or *Sudarium* of St. Veronica which was believed to be preserved in St. Peter's.

[2] Isa. lx. 14. The writer refers most probably to the supposed impression of our Lord's feet left in the stone when He appeared to St. Peter near the little oratory known as the *Domine Quo Vadis?* It is now generally admitted by scholars, that the stone exhibited with the impression of the two feet is only a pagan votive tablet. See Armellini *Chiese de Roma* (ed. 29), p. 892. In Petrarch's day the footprints were believed to be miraculous.

[3] Petrarch, *Epist. Famil.*, ii. 9.

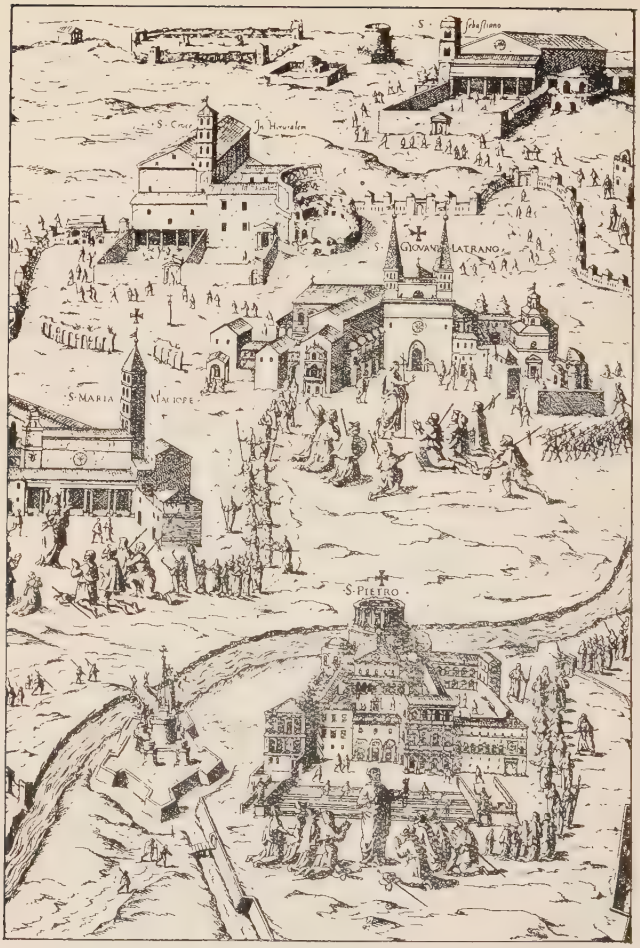
walls. These were the true shrines of Rome, the glory of the city, and hence it came about that from an early age a pilgrimage thither had been described as a visit *ad limina apostolorum*—to the thresholds of the Apostles. That the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul still repose in the basilicas which bear their name there is, as a mere question of historical evidence, no good reason to doubt, and it was primarily beside their tombs that the Pontiff wished all faithful children of the Church to enkindle their fervour and to pray for the welfare of Christendom.

It has already been noticed in our review of past Jubilees that the number of the basilicas to which a visit is obligatory was added to by the Popes who succeeded Boniface. A visit to St. John Lateran was prescribed, besides those to St. Peter's and St. Paul's, by Clement VI in 1343, and the Church of St. Mary Major was included by Gregory XI, who, though he did not live to celebrate a Jubilee, issued a decretal on this subject in 1373. Let us turn now to pass in brief review the four basilicas, to which these visits still have to be paid.[1]

St. Peter's.

If there be one fact in the often obscure history of the early Christian centuries for which we have clear and cumulative evidence, it is the fact that St. Peter not only went to Rome, but that he was martyred and was buried there. Christian Rome is itself a standing witness to the truth of these events. "For the archæologist," says one of the most eminent of modern experts, "the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established

[1] In the larger and copiously illustrated volume (*The Holy Year of Jubilee*, Sands and Co., 1900), from which the present little book is abridged, a more detailed account is furnished of the history of the four basilicas. The greater part of this is here omitted as it seemed that the information available in the ordinary guide-books might to a large extent supply its place.



CENTRAL PORTION OF A PICTURE OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES: PREPARED FOR THE JUBILEE OF 1575.

To face p. 75.

beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence." [1] Moreover, Anglican scholars in this country speak no less decisively. Following in the footsteps of the late Bishop Lightfoot, perhaps the most eminent student of Christian origins whom the Church of England has ever produced, Dr. George Edmundson, in his course of Bampton Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford in 1913, arrived at the unhesitating conclusion that St. Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, and that the same city was the scene of his martyrdom and still in all probability possesses his authentic remains.

"Never, probably," writes Dr. Edmundson, "was any tradition accepted so universally and without a single dissentient voice, as that which associates the foundation and organisation of the Church of Rome with the name of St. Peter and which speaks of his active connection with that Church as extending over a period of some twenty-five years.

"It is needless to multiply references. In Egypt and in Africa, in the East and in the West, no other place ever disputed with Rome the honour of being the see of St. Peter; no other place ever claimed that he died there or that it possessed his tomb. Most significant of all is the *consensus* of the Oriental, non-Greek-speaking Churches. A close examination of Armenian and Syrian manuscripts, and in the case of the latter both of Nestorian and Jacobite authorities, through several centuries, has failed to discover a single writer who did not accept the Roman Petrine tradition." [2]

[1] Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 123. Signor Lanciani adds: "If my readers think that I am assuming as proved what they still consider subject for discussion, I beg to refer them to some of the standard works published on this subject by writers who are above suspicion of partiality." Whereupon he mentions Döllinger's *First Age of Christianity*, Lightfoot's *St. Clement of Rome*, and De Rossi's *Bullettino*, 1877.

[2] Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century* (the Bampton Lectures for 1913), London, 1913, p. 51.

In the light of this and many similar utterances for which full evidence is given in the lectures referred to, the flippant essay in which an American University Professor has recently sought to cast ridicule upon the Petrine tradition calls for no serious refutation. The pilgrim who kneels before the "Confession" in St. Peter's may have full confidence that he is praying beside the last resting place of that very Prince of the Apostles, who received from our Saviour's own lips the promise of the indefectibility of His Church.

Of course, the present basilica is of relatively modern date. It was erected in the sixteenth century to replace the venerable Church which could be traced back to the time of the Emperor Constantine; and in fact we learn that when this ancient edifice was demolished many bricks were found bearing the inscription *D. N. Constantinus Aug.*[1]

This early basilica was 395 feet in length by 212 in width. The nave and aisles were divided by ninety-six marble columns of different sizes, in great part brought from the Septizonium of Severus. The wide atrium, surrounded by porticoes, in front of the basilica measured 212 feet by 235. Here, among others, were buried Coenred, King of the Mercians, who came to remain as a monk; Offa, the Saxon; and Caedwalla, King of the West Saxons, who, "forsaking all for the love of God," as we read in the inscription placed on his tomb by Sergius I (689), came to Rome for baptism and died there immediately afterwards—*Candidus inter oves Christi* ("white-robed among the sheep of Christ").[2] A flight of thirty-five steps led up to the atrium from the piazza. The pious pilgrims

[1] *Dominus Noster Constantinus Augustus*; an illustration of these is given in Grisar, *Geschichte Roms*, etc., vol. i. p. 238.

[2] Caedwalla's tomb was brought to light again in the sixteenth century, during the rebuilding of St. Peter's. It is doubtful whether his successor, King Ina, and his wife, Ethelburga, were buried in the same place, or in the Anglo-Saxon quarter by the Church of Sta Maria in Saxia (now called S. Spirito in Sassia), which was

used to ascend these steps on their knees; it is said that among those so ascending was Charlemagne, when he paid his first visit to Rome in 774. Symmachus enlarged these steps in 498, and added a covered portico at the sides for the convenience of pilgrims. The atrium was generally called the *paradisus*, paradise, or " parvis," because these *atria* or courts were, of old, ornamented with plants and flowers, which gave the place the appearance of a beautiful garden.

The practice of pilgrims ascending the steps of the atrium of St. Peter's on their knees lasted as long as the atrium itself lasted. It was recommended to those who came to Rome for the Jubilee as almost the first duty to be performed. Moreover, rich indulgences were supposed to be attached to this very fatiguing exercise of devotion, though it must be added that the authenticity of the innumerable indulgences attributed, according to the popular tradition of those days, to every possible shrine or church in Rome must be regarded as more than doubtful. A quaint old English Pilgrim's Guide-Book in verse—*The Stacions of Rome*—counts only twenty-nine steps leading up to the atrium—

> At Seint Peter we schul biginne
> To telle of pardoun, that slaketh sinne.
> A feir mynstre men mai ther se
> Niyene and twenti greces [steps] ther be;
> As ofte as thou gost up or doun
> Because of divocioun
> Thou shall have at uche gre, [at each step],
> Mon or wommon whether thou be,
> Seven yer to pardoun
> And therto Gode's benisoun.[1]

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founded by Ina for English pilgrims in 728. The English spread themselves over the district reaching from the portico of St. Peter down to the Tiber, which came to be known as the *Burgus Saxonum*. This district is still spoken of as *in Sassia*, while the Saxon word *Burg* (Borgo) has become the title of the whole region.—Lanciani, pp. 232, 233.

[1] *The Stacions of Rome* (E.E.T.S.), ll. 17–26. This earlier text of the *Stacions* belongs to the fourteenth century. Paul II increased the number of steps to thirty-six.

The altars and chapels scattered through the vast basilica were almost innumerable.[1] One of the most notable features was the very ancient baptistery, made by Pope Damasus, and supplied with water from the streams of the surrounding hills. The inscription he placed on it is still preserved in the crypt of the Vatican. In this baptistery was the famous chair of Peter; and Ennodius of Pavia, who lived at the end of the fifth century, speaking of the newly baptised who went from the font to be confirmed, says that the bishop was seated in the *sella gestatoria apostolicæ confessionis*,[2] whence it was written of Siricius, the successor of Damasus, in his epitaph—*Fonte Sacro Magnus Meruit Sedere Sacerdos.* The baptistery came itself to be known as *Cathedra Apostolica;* we find it thus designated by Prudentius. This chair, now enshrined in the beautiful altar by Bernini, at the extremity of the apse, was last shown in 1867, and was described by De Rossi.[3] The legs are of oak, and the seat and back of acacia wood of later date than the legs. The iron rings which stand out on either side, and through which poles were thrust, show that it was a *sedia gestatoria*, meant to be carried on the shoulders of four or more bearers, a custom introduced by the Roman senators in the time of Claudius.

Even Gregorovius speaks of this relic with becoming respect. From the second century, he says, it has been held to be the very seat used by the Apostle St. Peter. "This remarkable chair, the oldest throne in the world, upon which have sat first of all obscure bishops, and then mighty Popes, whose sway was felt through many lands and peoples, is still in existence." He mentions also that he himself examined

[1] Lanciani says there were sixty-eight altars; Grimaldi says fifty-two; and the mediæval *Reliquiæ Rhomanæ Urbis* states that there were ninety-nine.

[2] *Apolog. pro Synodo*, ed. Hartel, p. 328.

[3] *Bull. di Archæol. Crist*, June and July, 1867, pp. 33 *seq.*

it in the year 1867, when it was last exposed to public view.[1]

One other famous memorial of the great Apostle, which has for centuries attracted the veneration of Christians, must not be passed over without a word. The celebrated bronze statue in the nave of the basilica, in which St. Peter is represented seated, his right hand raised in blessing and his left holding a key, has had the protruding foot saluted by the kisses of such countless multitudes that the toe has almost entirely disappeared. The statue is not, of course, a relic in any sense, except that it bears witness to the devotion of the faithful, and there is a curious diversity of opinion as to its age. As a matter of historical evidence we cannot trace it further back than the fifteenth century, and certain archæologists, —*e.g.* Didron, more than fifty years ago, and Dr. F. X. Kraus at the present day—consider that it is a work of the Middle Ages imitating classical models, and very probably cast by Arnolfo di Cambio between the years 1250 and 1300.[2] On the other hand, other authorities, who differ as widely on most topics as Professor Gregorovius and Father Grisar, assign it to the fifth century after Christ, and this latter may be considered the more generally received opinion.

Even those who pronounce for an early date are inclined to consider the key a later restoration. Father Grisar,[3] however, defends its antiquity, citing both another statue of St. Peter in the crypt of the basilica which is similarly distinguished, and also some early representations of keys of like shape to be found in the Lateran Museum. As early as the fourth century St. Optatus Milevitanus seems clearly to have recognised the keys as the personal prerogative of Peter, a

[1] *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, fourth edition, vol. i. pp. 93, 94.

[2] Kraus, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, i. p. 231.

[3] Grisar, *Geschichte Roms und der Päpste*, i. p. 445, and *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1898, ii. 459 *seq.* Cf. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 142; Wickhoff, *Zft. f. bild. Kunst*, 1890, p. 109.

symbol of unity as well as of the power of binding and losing. "He alone received the keys," he writes, "that he might communicate them to the rest"; and again, "It was ordained that the sinner should open to the innocent, in order that the innocent might not shut the door in the face of sinners, and in order that in this way there might be no hindrance to the unity which is necessary." [1]

St. Paul's.

What gave its special sanctity to Rome, and what brought the pilgrims flocking thither, was not the fact that it was the sanctuary of half the relics of the world, but simply that it was the See of Peter and the resting-place of the two leaders of the Apostles. Even as early as the beginning of the sixth century we find Elpidia, the wife of Boethius, writing thus in a hymn which has been adopted by the Catholic Church in her office for the great festival of SS. Peter and Paul on 29th June :—

> O happy Rome, made holy now
> By these two martyrs' precious blood
> Earth's best and fairest cities bow,
> By thy superior claims subdued.
> —*Father Faber's Translation.*

Remembering, then, the provisions of the Bull of Boniface VIII which enjoined visits to those two basilicas only in which were entombed the bodies of the Apostles, it is natural that we should direct our attention, in the second place, to the Church of St. Paul fuori le Mura. The site of that edifice does not mark the spot where St. Paul was actually beheaded. Although the martyrdom was carried out on the Ostian Way, it seems clear that the place at which it occurred lay nearly a mile further along the road than that where now stands the basilica which bears his name. When the worst of the persecution was over

[1] Optatus Milevitanus, Migne, P.L. XI, 1088.

and the Christians felt that they could safely bring the remains of the Apostles from the Catacombs, where they, no doubt, were concealed for a time, in order to inter them in a more accessible position, they were probably prevented by some accidental reason from obtaining any plot of ground near the place of St. Paul's martyrdom. They had therefore to be content with what circumstances permitted, and Anacletus, to enshrine the body of St. Paul, erected on the Ostian Way a sepulchral chamber, similar to that which he had built on the Vatican for the remains of his fellow-Apostle St. Peter. Such a "*memoria*" or "*cella memoriæ*" was probably a very tiny edifice, measuring, according to pagan analogies, some fourteen feet by eight or ten, and containing in the centre the sarcophagus in which the remains were deposited with just reasonable space to move about it. Over this, in many cases, an upper chamber was constructed in which the Holy Sacrifice was offered immediately above the body of the martyr.

Two centuries and a half later, when peace was established in the Church, the Emperor Constantine transformed these *memorias* of the two Apostles into basilicas. He also, according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (i. 178), placed the body of St. Paul in a coffin of solid bronze; but, says Lanciani, "no visible trace of it is left. I had the privilege of examining the actual grave, 1st December, 1891, lowering myself from the *fenestrella* under the altar. I found myself on a flat surface paved with slabs of marble, on one of which (placed negligently in a slanting direction) are engraved the words, PAULO APOSTOLO MART. . . . This inscription belongs to the fourth century." [1]

[1] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 157. See also "Die Grabplatte des h. Paulus," etc., by Fr. H. Grisar, S.J., in the *Römische Quartalschrift* for 1892 and his *Analecta Romana*, i. p. 257, for illustration and further discussions concerning the tomb. There seems no reason at all to believe that the marble slab with the inscription is the cover of the actual sarcophagus. See Barnes, *St. Peter in Rome*, p. 220 *seq.*

The basilica erected by Constantine was very small in size. It would seem to have been hardly more than 100 feet long. This was not due to any wish to disparage St. Paul at the expense of his fellow-Apostle St. Peter, but it resulted from the position of the tomb relatively to the high road to Ostia. The traditions of church construction at that period inexorably required that the altar of the basilica should stand at its western end, and that there the bishop or priest should offer the Holy Sacrifice, his face turned towards the people, the altar between him and them, and the whole length of the building stretching eastward before him. Now, as the Ostian Way ran close to St. Paul's tomb on its eastern side, and as the high altar had necessarily to be erected immediately over the tomb, there was no room to throw the nave of the basilica out eastward. The only possible arrangement which occurred to the builders of that epoch was to construct a basilica of very diminutive proportions, utilising for the length of its nave only just that narrow space which was left between the tomb and the road. At the end, however, of little more than half a century this building seemed so unworthy of the great Apostle that a bold innovation was decided upon. On the western side of the tomb the ground was free, and it was determined to reverse the direction of the church. The priest would still offer sacrifice with his face towards the east, but the people in the long nave stretching westward would now stand behind him facing the same way as he did. The new basilica of St. Paul, begun in accordance with these plans by the Emperors Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius in the year 368, was probably the prototype of that arrangement of the altar and nave in church building which has now become universal. The imperial rescript to the Roman prefect Sallustius, ordering him to commence the rebuilding of the Ostian basilica on a magnificent scale, is

BASILICA OF ST. PAOLO FUORI LE MURA, TO WHICH A VISIT WAS ENJOINED IN THE JUBILEE BULL OF BONIFACE VIII.

Restored since the fire of 1923.

To face p. 82.

still extant. Valentinian died in 392, but the work was continued under Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, being completed by the last-named emperor.

The dimensions of the church as it stood in the fifth century exceeded those of the old Vatican basilica, the interior being composed of five broad aisles, divided by four rows of twenty pillars each, of various styles of architecture and of divers species of marbles, many of the pillars being taken from other buildings and adapted to their new position. The roof was of gilded or bronzed wood, and the internal walls were covered with marble. The centre nave terminated in the immense arch, supported by two imposing Ionic pillars of Greek marble, which Gallia Placidia had decorated with mosaics. Beneath this arch was the Confession, or tomb of the Apostle, whose body lay under it, enclosed, as we may assume, in a bronze sarcophagus within an outer one of marble.

Constantine had richly endowed this basilica, and the poet Prudentius [1] describes it as being splendid with gold, silver, and precious stones, at the time when he saw it, during the reign of Honorius. On the wall, above the columns of the nave, was a series of portraits of the Popes from St. Peter onwards, but these had, many of them, suffered serious injury before the seventeenth century, and only those on the south wall still exist, this wall having been left comparatively unharmed by the conflagration of 1823. Almost the only ancient treasure left in the basilica is the magnificent marble paschal candlestick, one of the most curious pieces of mediæval sculpture in Rome. It is of twelfth-century work, and covered with carving in high relief representing the history of the Passion.

In the course of ages St. Paul's was repeatedly restored and beautified, and in the first half of the thirteenth century the magnificent cloister was added.

[1] Prud., *Hymn XII.*

But in 1823, in one night, this vast basilica, next in importance to the Vatican, was destroyed by fire; and pictures, marbles, mosaics all perished. The work of rebuilding was at once begun, and contributions were sent from all the Catholic countries in Europe. It was completed and opened by Pius IX in December, 1854. The dimensions of the Honorian basilica have been adhered to, and the interior, with its eighty granite columns, is impressive and well proportioned.

St. Ignatius of Loyola, when making the visits to the seven churches with his companions on the 22nd April, 1541, made his solemn profession of vows before a picture of Our Lady, which was then kept at the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, and is now at that of the Crucifixion.[1] Attention is drawn to this picture in a little manual of Jubilee devotions which attracted the interest and received the approbation of Leo XIII :—

"Near the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament is that of the Holy Crucifix, in which is venerated an ancient crucifix of carved wood, before which St. Bridget often prayed and obtained signal favours. At the foot of the crucifix there is a representation in mosaic of the Blessed Virgin with the Infant Jesus. This image is specially honoured as that before which St. Ignatius and his nine companions took their vows. The crucifix and picture of Our Lady were solemnly transferred from their former altar to this place by Benedict XIII in the Jubilee year of 1725." [2]

In the little book we refer to, it is suggested that on visiting the basilica of St. Paul a special prayer should be said before this crucifix.

[1] *Ribadeneira*, cap. xiv., with the note of the Bollandists, 31st July, p. 701. The church was almost deserted, and St. Ignatius and his companions went there to be able to take their vows in privacy.

[2] *Le Jubilé de l'année Sainte*, 1900, etc., p. 53. Rome, 1900.

The Lateran.

The Lateran basilica claims attention, not only because in point of time it was the third of the four churches to be named in the Jubilee Bulls, but also because it is the Cathedral of the Bishop of Rome, and in a certain sense takes precedence of all the rest. According to its own proud boast, it is OMNIUM URBIS ET ORBIS ECCLESIARUM MATER ET CAPUT (the Mother and Head of all the Churches of the City and the World); and even in the matter of architecture its glories seem to have left the deepest impression upon the mind of the mediæval pilgrim. Dante, in the *Paradiso*, tells how

> The grim brood from Arctic shores that roamed
> Stood in mute wonder 'mid the works of Rome,
> When to their view the Lateran arose
> In greatness more than earthly.[1]

The Lateran basilica derives its name from the Laterani, an old Roman clan, whose palace was situated on this part of the Cœlian Hill. Their estates were confiscated when the head of the family, Plautius Lateranus, was discovered to have taken part in a plot against the life of Nero. At the beginning of the fourth century the palace became the property of Fausta, daughter of the Emperor Maximian and wife of Constantine. After the celebrated victory of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine took this palace for his own dwelling, but soon afterwards, in 312, gave it to Pope Miltiades, when it became the Papal residence; and on the 2nd October, 313, Pope Miltiades

[1] *Se i barbari venendo da tal plaga*
Veggendo Roma e l'ardua sua opra
Stupefaceansi quando Laterano
Alle cose mortali andò di sopra.
—*Paradiso*, canto xxxi. ii. 34–36.

It may be that the Lateran is here only substituted by metonymy for Rome in general, but the possibility of such metonymy is itself a tribute to the pre-eminence of the Lateran.

presided at the first Council assembled against the Donatists, "*in domum Faustæ in Laterano.*"[1] Constantine built a basilica in one part of the palace[2] (tradition states that he laboured at it with his own hands), which was dedicated to the Saviour by Pope Sylvester. From the beginning it was commonly known as the Constantine basilica, and was the most favoured of all the buildings which the Emperor erected in Rome for the worship of the God of the Christians. We have still preserved in the *Liber Pontificalis* an authentic inventory of the rich endowment—both in revenues, in landed property, and in gold and silver vessels—bestowed by Constantine upon this, the principal church in the city. In later times it was known in popular parlance as *Basilica Aurea*, the Golden Basilica. This was probably due to the splendid decorations in marbles and mosaics and precious metals with which it was adorned; but the name of the old Roman family never quitted it, and has thus been perpetuated throughout all ages.[3] Down to the time of Gregory the Great, however, continual reference is made to the building as the *Constantine* basilica, which establishes beyond doubt the fact that he was the founder. Probably the extravagant legend concerning Pope Sylvester and the Emperor, as well as the famous forged "donation of Constantine" were originally developed out of this historical fact. The name "Lateran Basilica" is used by St. Jerome (*Ep.* 67, n. 4) and by Prudentius (*contra Symmachum*, bk. i. v. 586).

From this period the history of the Lateran becomes almost identified with the history of Christianity in Rome, for Constantine's basilica, as a modern writer has said, may be truly regarded as the "glorious

[1] Optatus, *De Schismate Donatist.*, i. c. 23.

[2] Or, more probably, adapted for use as a Christian church a hall already existing in the palace.

[3] Grisar, *Geschichte Roms und der Päpste*, i. p. 160.

Capitol of the City of Peter and Paul." [1] As the Cathedral Church of the Roman Pontiff, it claimed a higher dignity even than the Vatican and Ostian basilicas, which were hallowed by the relics of the Apostles. The chapter of the Lateran still takes precedence over that of St. Peter, and formerly the Pope took solemn possession of the Lateran as the final act of his installation.

The first church would seem to have been a comparatively small and unornamented building, the most conspicuous feature of which was a picture in mosaic of our Blessed Lord, to whom the basilica was dedicated. In the course of time the names of SS. John the Baptist and the Evangelist were added to that of our Saviour in its dedication, probably from the fact of a neighbouring monastery being dedicated to these saints. The church suffered so much injury from Genseric and his vandals that Leo the Great restored it in the fifth century, and 300 years later Hadrian I (771-795) again repaired, with great splendour, the ravages which time had made; but an earthquake having nearly destroyed the fabric in 896,[2] it was completely rebuilt by Sergius III on the old foundations and in the old dimensions. This new basilica was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and is the building which Dante saw and commemorated in the words above quoted. Unfortunately, the Sergian basilica was almost totally destroyed by fire in 1308. The rebuilding was commenced by Clement V, and completed by his successor, John XXII; but in 1360 it was again burnt down, and remained in utter ruin for four years. Even at an earlier period Petrarch, in a letter to the Pope at Avignon, laments over the state of desolation in which he saw it.

[1] Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, p. 263.

[2] "Hujus tempore ecclesia Lateranensis ab altari usque ad portas cecidit." (*Liber Pontificalis.*)

The church having been once more rebuilt by Urban V, Pope Martin V in the fifteenth century, and after him Eugenius IV, restored and adorned it, while the latter Pope also repaired the adjacent palace. But amongst all benefactors in recent times Pope Sixtus V deserved especially well of the Lateran. He built the still-existing north front of the basilica, then called the loggia of Sixtus V, because from it he gave his blessing, erected the obelisk in front of the loggia, cleared the piazza, rebuilt the great palace, and transferred the *Scala Santa* to a new and more convenient site.

The eastern façade of the church at that period still maintained its original type, with three arched windows such as may still be seen at Sta Maria in Trastevere. It was decorated with mosaics, the centre being a figure of Christ, and below the four prophets with other figures. On the walls of the nave the principal events of both the Old and New Testaments were set forth for the instruction of the faithful. This was the common practice in earlier ages when the walls of the church were the book from which the unlettered could read and learn the sacred story. A large portico with six columns stood in front of the building, with a fountain in the centre. But although from the time of Eugenius IV there were few Popes who did not do something towards enriching and embellishing the basilica, the fabric in the seventeenth century was again becoming ruinous, and Innocent X began, and Clement XII completed, a fifth restoration, the façade, as now seen, having been erected from the designs of Alessandro Galilei in 1734.

For our actual purpose two further points of special interest may be noted in connection with this basilica. The first is the reputed presence at the high altar of the heads of SS. Peter and Paul. If we say the reputed presence, it is not that there exists any positive

reason for doubting the authenticity of these *insignes reliquiæ*, but simply to mark the fact that the evidence in this case is quite of a different order from that which attests the preservation of the bodies of the Apostles beneath the high altars of their respective basilicas. We have no certain record of the epoch at which the heads were separated from the bodies, nor of the circumstances of their removal to the Lateran; and there is nothing to bear witness to their presence at the latter church earlier than the eleventh century.[1] None the less, it seems probable that our authorities[2] are justified in conjecturing that the heads were removed before the final closing of the tombs, brought about by the invasion of the Saracens in 846.

During the fifteenth and succeeding centuries the heads of the Apostles, preserved in magnificent reliquaries at the papal altar of the Lateran, were held in the highest honour.[3] A fifteenth-century pilgrim, John of Tournai, tells us in 1487 how they were then shown to the people. We may omit the greater part of the long list of relics which, like other chroniclers of the same epoch, he set out in full detail. It must be confessed that the account he gives of some is not only utterly incredible, but even offensive to the pious ears of this our more refined age. But the following passage may serve as a sufficient specimen of a class

[1] The account of the Lateran, which is confidently assigned by De Rossi to about the year 1075, says of the *Sancta Sanctorum*, "In alio vero altari ejusdem oratorii sunt capita Apostolorum Petri et Pauli."—Georgi, *Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, vol. iii. p. 546. A similar reference has been found by M. Léopold Delisle in a Paris MS. of the twelfth century. See Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latran au Moyen Age*. The Bollandists, *Analecta Bollandiana*, xi. 188, seem to regard the authenticity of these relics as somewhat doubtful. So also does Père Mortier, O.P., *St. Pierre de Rome*, p. 155. Mgr. de Waal, in his article, "Die Haüpter Petri und Pauli im Lateran," in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1891, is more confident.

[2] Cf. Barnes, *St. Peter in Rome*, p. 387, and De Waal, *loc. cit.*

[3] Cf. Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres*, vol. i. pp. 415 and 472.

of works which, in the Middle Ages, formed quite a little literature of itself :—

" There (at the Lateran), in an old chapel, may be seen the altar at which Monseigneur St. John Baptist, when he was in the desert, performed his devotions ; the table upon which our Lord Jesus Christ made the Supper with His disciples on the day of White Thursday (Maundy Thursday) ; the two tables of Moses, upon which is written the law of the Old Testament ; the rod of the said Moses, and of Aaron. And all these things Titus and Vespasian brought from the holy city of Jerusalem, with the four hollow pillars full of the soil of the said Holy Land. There also may be seen a portion of the golden gate. Under the said four columns there is an altar upon which rest the heads of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul. And a little before the time comes for showing them a big bell is rung, and while they are actually being shown they sound a number of little bells. And when the Bishop and those who are to expose the relics have climbed up on high, they draw up the ladder and leave it suspended in the air for as long a time as they are showing them. And in the said church there are two cruets full of the blood and water that flowed from the side of Christ," etc.[1]

[1] *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xxii. p. 90. On the Lateran relics, see Nicoll's edition of the *Mirabilia Romæ* (Rome, 1889) ; G. Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latran au Moyen Age* ; Barbier de Moutault, *Œuvres*, vol. i. ; Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus*, etc. As regards the bronze columns referred to above, they are believed to be those which are now at the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. Urlichs cites the following extract from Vatican MS. 1984 (*ad hist. misc. f.* 54 *in margine*)—Augustus, conqueror of all Egypt, took from the sea fight many *rostra* or ships-beaks ; therewith he made four molten pillars, that were afterwards set by Domitian in the Capitol, and which we see to this day, as they were at a later time well ordered by the Emperor Constantine the Great in the basilica of St. Saviour. (Urlichs, *Codex*, 17.) The other tradition which says that these columns were brought from Jerusalem by Titus, and that they are hollow, and filled with earth from Palestine, seems to have been the version of the story told to the Jewish traveller Benjamin of

It seems clear that at an earlier period the heads of the Apostles were kept, not at the high altar of the basilica, but in the neighbouring *Sancta Sanctorum* or Chapel of St. Laurence, of which we shall shortly have to speak. Even in the middle of the fourteenth century, to judge from that curious versified English Guide-Book known as the *Stacions of Rome*, this would seem to have been the case. Speaking of the chapel of the *Sancta Sanctorum*, the writer says :—

> Of Peter and Paul the heads be there
> Well y-closed under the high autere,
> And other relics many one
> There be closed in a stone.
> Whoso is there Pope of Rome
> The keys with him he hath y-nome (taken),
> That no man may them there ysee
> But (unless) he himself present be.[1]

The last passage points plainly enough to the fact that during the absence of the Popes in Avignon the heads of the Apostles were not to be seen in Rome, which agrees very well with the story of their loss and with the rejoicing made over their discovery when Urban V returned to Italy.

The other object at the Lateran which seems worthy of particular notice is the mosaic in the apse behind the high altar, in the centre of which is seen a bust of our Saviour. To what extent this mosaic can be regarded as work of the fourth century is matter of considerable uncertainty. It must in any case be admitted that it has been extensively restored. None the less this image of Christ was to an extraordinary degree famous in mediæval legend. It is com-

Tudela about 1170. "I heard," he tells us further, "from Jews abiding in Rome that every year, on the ninth day of the month Abib, a sweat like unto water droppeth from these pillars."

[1] The *Stacions of Rome* (Vernon MS.) E.E.T.S. ll. 357–364. In this extract the spelling has been modernised. In the Cotton MS. of the *Stacions* (*Political, Relig. and Love Poems*, E.E.T.S.), the heads are represented as having been moved to the basilica.

memorated in the lessons of the Roman Breviary for the 9th November on the feast of the "Dedication of the basilica of our Saviour" (*i.e.* the Lateran), wherein we read that on the occasion of the consecration of the basilica of Constantine by Pope St. Sylvester "the image of the Saviour appeared to the people of Rome painted upon the wall." This is the bust[1] which is shown over the doorway in the spurious Jubilee medal of Boniface VIII, and which is frequently introduced in various ways into the shields and heraldic devices connected with the confraternities attached to the basilica. This image in the ceiling of the apse immediately over the papal throne (which throne, according to the old basilica arrangement in the first Christian churches, always occupied the western extremity of the building),[2] was, of course, believed to be miraculous. Thus in the fourteenth-century English poem, from which we have just been quoting, we read :—

> In the roof over the Pope's see (seat)
> A Salvator there may thou see
> Never y-painted with hand of man,
> As men in Rome tellen can.
> When Sylvester hallowed that place,
> It appeared there through God's grace.

But not only was the "Salvator" or bust of the Saviour, which we still see in the ceiling of the apse, re-

[1] P. 41. This mosaic was accounted a relic, and is thus described in the first entry of that semi-official list, which Mgr. Barbier de Montault calls "la grande Pancarte" : "In tribuna a Nicolao IV instaurata est primo imago Salvatoris, parietibus depicta, quæ visibilis apparuit Populo Romano cum S. Sylvester dedicavit ecclesiam, quæ imago nec comburi potuit nec violari, quando ecclesia ab hereticis septies combusta fuit et transivit per portam sanctam quæ est in porticu sita, per quam si quis introierit in anno Jubilei, remissionem omnium peccatorum, per Papam Clementem concessam in forma ecclesiæ consueta consequetur." Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 399.

[2] We have already called attention to this arrangement in speaking of St. Peter's chair, still preserved in the apse of the Vatican basilica ; see above, p. 78.

garded as an achiropiïton (ἀχειροποίητον, never painted by human hand), but it was supposed miraculously to have survived all the injury done to the basilica by fire and earthquake.[1] And what makes more for our immediate purpose, tradition in the fifteenth century declared that it had floated into the church through the "Golden Door" or Holy Door before it affixed itself to the vault of the apse, and that in its passage it had communicated to this door that special sanctity which was recognised in the Jubilee indulgence. A quotation from the account of the Florentine merchant Rucellai, to which reference has already been made in an earlier chapter, will illustrate how these ideas were brought into connection :—

"It is said that the image of our Lord Jesus Christ passed through this door and then affixed itself to the apse of the high altar of the said church, and on account of this devout belief everyone who goes to the pardon passes through the said door, the which is walled up again immediately the Jubilee is over. It is also said that the palace of the Emperor Constantine stood in the place where is now the said church, and that in the palace there was a door which possessed this privilege, that whatever person had committed murder or robbery or done any other kind of wickedness, if he passed through that door he was free from the crime which he had done ; and that in the time of St. Sylvester, Pope, it was ordained that, as up to that time an offender had been released from his temporal transgressions, so in future whoever passed through that door should be released from his spiritual ones." [2]

This legend, introducing the idea of sanctuary,[3]

[1] This is stated in the *Rombüchlein* and other mediæval authorities.

[2] Rucellai, in *Archivio*, vol. iv. p. 570.

[3] It is stated that the doors of the Lateran were hung with curtains to afford readier access to those who sought sanctuary there. All who passed the threshold were secure from pursuit, however grievous their crimes. See Clausse, *Basiliques Chrétiennes*.

which appears still earlier in the narrative of Pedro Tafur, may possibly contain a germ of truth. It is, of course, out of the question to suppose that the idea of such plenary indulgence could date from the time of Constantine, but in later ages a remission of spiritual penalties might easily be suggested by the thought of the protection which the place of sanctuary extended to temporal offenders. In several of the mediæval versions of the story, notably in that of the *Rombüchlein*, Constantine is represented as asking for a plenary indulgence, which St. Sylvester grants. Thereupon the Pope at once feels a scruple as though he had acted with too great temerity, but a voice from heaven reassures him.

According to another version of the story, Constantine asked that sinners might be cleansed at the basilica of their sins, just as he himself had been cleansed of his leprosy :—

> Pope Sylvester then saide he
> Of Peter and Paul and of me
> They shall be clean of sin and pine (*culpa et pœna*)
> As Christ cleansed thee of thine ;
> And as the filth fell from thee,
> So clean of sin shall they be.[1]

A curious illustration of the utter confusion which pervades all these stories is afforded by the reference which several of the accounts make to the " three doors " which apparently led out of the " hall " of Constantine adjoining the basilica, and communicated with the palace and with the chapel of the *Sancta Sanctorum* or St. Laurence. These doors seemingly were taken, like the *Scala Santa*, to be part of Pilate's palace, and it was stated that Christ had passed through one of them. Naturally, this was regarded by some as the Holy Door, conferring a plenary indulgence, and it was hopelessly mixed up with the

[1] The *Stacions of Rome* (Vernon MS.), ll. 277–283.

"Golden Door" of the basilica itself through which the image had passed. Thus in our German *Büchlein:*

"Also they open the Golden Door at St. John's only in the year of special pardon, but at all other times the Golden Door is walled up. People pass through all three doors in order that they may be sure to find the right one and may not miss it, for the doors stand side by side, and whoever passes through he is as completely cleansed from his sins as a man who is newly baptised; that is to say, if a man do it with contrition and devotion. People may also pass through the door for the holy souls." [1]

No one could tell from this statement where the three doors were, but the other descriptions make it clear. For instance, John of Tournay, who himself undoubtedly visited the places he describes, and took notes of them, remarks:—

"In order to quit the said church there is a door on the left hand up three or four steps, and then a hall. There is a great marble erection in it, supported on columns. It is the height of Jesus Christ, and they pass underneath it going in procession; and to leave the said hall there are three exits, and they say that our Saviour passed through one of the three. And in as much as people do not know which of the three it is, when they go in procession they pass through all three of them." [2]

Before we follow John of Tournay's example and

[1] "Item man thuet dy gulden phort zu sand johanns nur in dem genaden reychen jare auf; sust zu andern zeitten so ist die gulden phort vermaurt. Man geet durch die phortten alle drey dorumb dass man die recht treffe und nicht verfele, sie sten pey aynander; wer dardurch get der ist ledig von seinen sunden als ayn mensch das erst getauft ist, wer das tuet mit rew und mit andacht; man mag auch fur die selle durch die phortten geen."—*Rombüchlein*, ff. 28 v°, 29 r°.

[2] Et en issant hors de lad. salle yl y a iii issues et dict-on que Notre Seigneur passa parmy l'une des iii. Et pour ce qu'on ne seuct par laquelle des iii, en allant en procession on passe parmy touttes les iii.—Jean de Tournay, in *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xxii. p. 91.

take our leave of the basilica one word ought to be said of the famous fresco of Giotto, which commemorates the institution of the Jubilee. The fresco is not very conspicuous, but will be found behind the first pier of the nave along the inner aisle commencing from the door. Beside it may be read a Latin inscription, which may be thus rendered in English :—

"The representation of the august Boniface VIII, Supreme Pontiff, proclaiming the first Jubilee for the year 1300 ; the painting of Giotto, a contemporary of that age. It was removed from the ancient tribune (or portico) first to the cloister and thence to the church. The family of the Gaietani, to prevent this monument of their ancestors from perishing by age, had it covered with glass in the year 1786."

The family name of Boniface VIII was Benedict Gaietano, which explains their interest in the picture.

Although no detailed account can here be given of the whole group of buildings connected with the Lateran basilica, for instance of the famous Baptistery, or of the *Sancta Sanctorum*, the treasures of which, after a seclusion of many hundred years, were brought to the light of day in 1903,[1] still a word must be said of the *Scala Santa*, which has so long been associated with the devotional life of Rome, and which in past ages have been venerated by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, especially during the continuance of an *Anno Santo*.

These Holy Stairs, or, as they were called in the Middle Ages, the *Scale di Pilato*, consist of twenty-eight marble steps, which tradition avers to have been those of Pilate's palace, and which consequently are believed to have been consecrated during His Passion by the feet of Christ Our Lord. They are said to have been brought from Jerusalem by St. Helen, the mother of Constantine the Great, and to have been

[1] See Father Grisar's admirable monograph *Die römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum und ihr Schatz*, Freiburg, Herder, 1908.

regarded with great reverence for 1,500 years. As already mentioned, this staircase, upon the demolition of the old Lateran palace, was removed by Fontana, the architect of Sixtus V, to its present site in the year 1589. Clement XII caused a casing of wood to be made for the steps, which has had to be renewed more than once, being worn out by the knees of the ascending pilgrims.

The ascent of these stairs, which is usually made by pilgrims upon their knees, has always been regarded as one of the most suitable devotions for the Holy Year. Clement VIII, old and infirm as he was, is said to have visited the *Scala Santa* as many as seventy times during the Jubilee of 1600, and we are told of many other Popes, amongst them Urban VIII, Innocent X, and Clement IX, that they practised this devotion with the same humility of posture as the ordinary faithful. It is perhaps even more striking to read in the diary of the master of ceremonies of so magnificent a Pontiff as Leo X that when this Pope slept at the Lateran he used to ascend to his apartments by the "Stairs of Pilate." "I remarked," says Paris de Grassis, "the devotion of the Pontiff as he mounted these sacred steps, which are ascended by women only on their knees. He uncovered his head and kept praying all the time, and when he reached the top he used as it were to beg pardon of God for not having climbed up kneeling." [1]

No one who has noticed the allusions to these stairs in contemporary literature, or still more, who has examined the manuals of devotion which have been compiled for the use of those who visited them,[2] can hesitate for a moment to believe that this penitential exercise of the *Scala Santa* has led many a man to think more tenderly of Christ's Passion, and

[1] See Mgr. Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 506.

[2] See, for instance, the hand-books of Mazzucconi and Severano referred to by De Montault.

has been for the most part a source of true piety to the faithful. It is interesting to notice how simply and unaffectedly such practices of devotion enter into the everyday life of the Italian peasantry.

People will probably judge very differently the evidential value of the tradition that these twenty-eight marble steps really formed part of the prætorium of Pilate. To some, the devotion of the faithful and the sanction, both formal and informal, accorded to this devotion by many Popes will be a sufficient guarantee of authenticity. Others will wish to examine the historical evidence, and will ask for fuller proof. From this side it must, we are afraid, be said that in spite of earnest attempts to find historical justification for the common belief regarding the *Scala Santa* the proofs are still to seek ; indeed, the presumptions all lie the other way. It is true that Pope Benedict XIV appeals to a whole line of Pontiffs from Sergius I (687–701) and Stephen III (752–757) to Honorius III (1216–1227) and Gregory IX (1227–1241), but as Mgr. Barbier de Montault most reasonably asks, Why is it that Benedict XIV gives no references for any item of this array of testimony ? "We do not," he continues, "suspect either the honesty or the erudition of this learned Pontiff, but for full assurance in a historical thesis like this, it would be much more satisfactory to have proofs instead of bare assertions." [1] No satisfactory evidence for the veneration, or even the existence, of these stairs has yet been produced earlier than the fourteenth century. We have a great deal of infor-

[1] *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 505, note. The fact that Mgr. de Montault's instincts were all conservative, and that no one could suspect him of an excess of sympathy for modern critical methods, lends additional weight to such words as the following : "L'antiquité est donc complètement muette au sujet de l'origine, du transport et de l'installation de la *Scala Santa*. Le moyen âge est, sinon aussi silencieux, au moins fort obscur à cet endroit."—Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 505.

mation regarding the holy shrines and objects of devotion which were honoured in Rome, and it is difficult to believe that what would in mediæval eyes have been accounted so priceless a treasure can have passed unobserved. It is only in the fifteenth century that such travellers as Rucellai and Nicholas Muffel give us copious information. The latter, who formed one of the suite of the Emperor Frederick III when he journeyed to Rome for his coronation, writes a very minute description of the Holy Stairs. He tells us that they are of greyish-white marble and twenty-eight in number, that Christ our Lord stood on these stairs when the *Ecce Homo* was spoken, and that there He swooned and fell when judgment was passed upon Him. The place, he says, is marked by a little green cross, on the eighteenth stair from the top, and there is a grating over it. Moreover, he informs us, as also does Rucellai, that the people from devotion ascend them on their knees (*die Leut phlegen von Andacht auf den Knyen hinauf zu gehen*); "a thousand years' indulgence are gained at each step, and at each a Pater Noster is said." He adds that it is a common belief that by every ascent of the Holy Stairs a soul can be released from Purgatory. It would be tedious to quote further from the evidence which from this date meets us in every traveller's note-book.[1] Let it only be mentioned that in a map of Rome,[2] considered to have been designed between 1455 and 1464, the Holy Stairs are marked, with the words written against them, *Scala hæc per quam Xtus ad*

[1] The stairs are mentioned in the *Rombüchlein* (1475) and in the *Reliquiæ Rhomanæ Urbis* (c. 1483). They seem to be referred to in connection with the *Sancta Sanctorum*. "Capella vero ista sita est in Sancto lateranensi palatio, itaque fit ascensus per viginti (!) gradus et quilibet homo confessus et contritus ascendens istos gradus et in quolibet gradu dicat (*sic*) unum pater noster, et nonies ascenderit, penitus est solutus a pena et a culpa." See also the *Indulgentiæ Ecclesiarum* (Rome, 1513), where a different indulgence is mentioned.

[2] De Rossi, *Piante Iconografiche di Roma*, tab. ii. 1, and iii.

Pilatum (the staircase by which Christ was led to Pilate), and that John of Tournay, in 1487, asserts that there was a spot where the Precious Blood had fallen, which pilgrims could touch with their fingers through some kind of lattice.[1] It seems worth while to add that the approval of the Holy See, which may be accorded from time to time to such popular devotions as that of the *Scala Santa*, does not involve any infallible pronouncement upon a question of pure history. It implies that reasonable care has been taken to exclude fraud or the probability of error; but that such care is necessarily proportioned to the canons of historical criticism prevalent at the period at which the approbation was first granted. Hence it may readily be allowed that the Pontiffs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were often satisfied with evidence which would be considered far from conclusive in our own more sceptical age. Similarly, the facts which are recounted in the Martyrologium or the Roman Breviary are not guaranteed free from all error, although these books are formally authorised by Papal Bulls. All the world knows that corrections and emendations are occasionally made in statements which the progress of historical knowledge has shown to be no longer defensible. But where the disproof of an old tradition depends only upon negative evidence,[2] which might be reversed by new discoveries, the Holy See is naturally slow to act.

[1] *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xxii. p. 92. Cf. the *Rombüchlein*.

[2] We should more particularly expect to find some mention of the *Scala Santa* in the monograph which John the Deacon devoted to the glories of the Lateran. But he, and Petrarch, and Giraldus Cambrensis, and the *Mirabilia Romæ*, as well as the *Graphia* and the *Stacions of Rome*, all remain silent. Even Pedro Tafur, who came to Rome between 1435 and 1439, and his contemporary Biondo, seem to have heard nothing of these Holy Stairs. One argument in favour of the *Scala Santa*, of which I am unable to gauge the value, consists in the assertion that they are made of a veined white marble (*marmor tyricum*), unknown in Italy, but largely used in Syria. (*Guide à Rome* (Bleser Royer), Ed. Marucchi, vol. i. p. 137.)

Sta Maria Maggiore.

Although built after the death of Constantine, the basilica of Sta Maria Maggiore may be considered as belonging to the same group as the other three churches to be visited by the Jubilee pilgrims. It must necessarily take a place in the first rank, both on account of its size—it is one of the largest religious edifices of the Christian world; on account of its antiquity—it is not a century younger than its rivals; and also as the most important church in Rome dedicated to our Blessed Lady. It is true that this was not its primitive dedication. The church was erected by Pope Liberius (352–366), and was at first known as the Liberian basilica. But when Sixtus III rebuilt it in the following century he dedicated it to the Holy Mother of God, and since that time it has been most commonly called the basilica of St. Mary.[1]

A list of the revenues and treasures belonging to the church follows the brief account of its foundation in the *Liber Pontificalis*, a list which could only have been compiled by one who possessed an accurate knowledge of the archives of the church. It is to be noted that neither here nor in later records, not even in the long dedication poem inscribed in marble by Sixtus III,[2] do we find any mention of the well-known

[1] *Liber. Pont.* Duchesne, vol. i. p. 208. The short but authentic record runs thus—Hic (Liberius) fecit Basilicam nomini suo juxta macellum Libiæ. The notice of reconsecration under *Xystus III*, p. 232, is equally brief and matter of fact. "Hic (Xystus) fecit Basilicam Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ ab antiquis Liberii cognominabatur, juxta macellum Libiæ, ubi et obtulit hoc." (Grisar, *Geschichte Roms*, vol. i. p. 152.)

[2] Given by De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.*, vol. ii. pp. 71 and 98. The suggestion was made by the Congregation appointed by Benedict XIV in the year 1741 to reform the breviary, that the three lessons for the 5th August, in which this wonder is recounted, should be omitted, and that the Feast Stæ Mariæ ad Nives should return to its old appellation, *Dedicatio Sanctæ Mariæ*. However, nothing was done. The Congregation admits that Baronius speaks of "vetera manuscripta ejus ecclesiæ," which make mention of the

mediæval story of the miraculous fall of snow. According to this graceful but apocryphal legend, the basilica was built by Pope Liberius and John, a Roman patrician, to commemorate a miraculous fall of snow, which covered this spot of ground and no other, in the heat of summer, on the 5th of August, when our Blessed Lady, appearing in a vision both to the Pope and to John and his wife, showed them that she had appropriated in this way the site of a new temple to be erected in her honour.[1]

It is a pity to demolish so picturesque a legend, the more so that it is still retained in the Roman breviary for the 5th August; but as Father Grisar, in modern times, and many others before him, have pointed out, it rests upon nothing which is worthy of the name of evidence.[2] Meanwhile, in the Borghese chapel, the story, it appears, is still commemorated every year when, during High Mass, showers of white rose-leaves are allowed to fall continually from the ceiling, forming "a leafy mist between priests and worshippers."

St. Mary Major was at one time believed to be the second church ever dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, that at Ephesus being the first. De Rossi held that opinion, but Father Grisar considers that there is unquestionable evidence that the church now called Sta Maria Liberatrice, formerly Sta Maria Antiqua, in Rome was the first church known to have borne such a dedication, and that it was founded by Pope

miracle, but adds that no one has even seen them, and that it is scarcely possible that such a thing should have been passed over in silence for more than a thousand years. (Grisar, p. 153.)

[1] The flat tombstone of John is said to be in the centre of the nave. Murillo has painted two beautiful pictures inspired by this legend. One represents the apparition of the Virgin to John and his wife; in the other they tell what they have seen to Pope Liberius. (Hare, *Walks in Rome*, vol. ii. p. 74.)

[2] Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. Diss. 14. The legend of our Lady of the Snow is told at great length in the *Reliquiæ Rhomanæ Urbis*, c. 1483.

Sylvester on the site of the heathen temple of Vesta in the Forum.[1]

It was just after the General Council at Ephesus which overthrew the Nestorian heresy and gave to Mary the title of *Theotokos*, *i.e.* Mother of God, that Sixtus III almost entirely rebuilt the basilica on the Esquiline. He dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin, and adorned it with magnificent mosaics depicting the history of the Mother and the Child, making the basilica of Sta Maria Maggiore to be for long ages to come the most celebrated church of our Lady in the world.

Thus the series of mosaics above the great chancel arch, which terminates the majestic forest of pillars of white Parian marble in the nave, is a monument of the triumph of the faith over the heresy of Nestorius and of the honour won for Mary. As a theological record in stone and in marble it may be compared, though it is on a much grander scale, to the work of the same Pontiff Sixtus III in the baptistery of the Lateran, which commemorates the overthrow of Pelagianism. Over the arch is inscribed in gold letters, *Xystus Episcopus Plebi Dei* ("Bishop Xystus to the people of God"), and above is seen the throne of the Lamb, as described in the Apocalypse between the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and the symbols of the four evangelists. Then on either hand are displayed representations of the Annunciation, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Presentation in the Temple, the Adoration of the Magi, etc., not forgetting mystical cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with a flock of sheep, type of the faithful, issuing from them.

Finally, we may notice that this church has also been called *Sta Maria ad Præsepe*, from its possessing

[1] Cf. De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Christ*, 1892, p. 54; Grisar, *Geschichte*, vol. i. pp. 194, 297; Duchesne in *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, etc., 1897, p. 13.

the relics of the Holy Cradle, in which it is said our Saviour was laid. In consequence of the presence of this relic the basilica has the singular privilege of containing two papal altars—one in the grand nave, and another in the magnificent chapel *ad Præsepe*,[1] erected by Sixtus V to receive the *Santa Culla*, which is there preserved in a reliquary six feet high, adorned with bas-reliefs and statuettes in silver. The cradle, which consists only of a few rough boards, is carried in procession through the church on the night of Christmas Eve, and is exposed for veneration on the high altar on Christmas Day. Other relics, said to be of our Lord's infancy, are preserved in this basilica.

In the metrical English Guide-book, the *Stacions of Rome*, which we have more than once quoted, it is curious that, although the chapel of the Præsepe—"Præsepe men clepeth it"—is mentioned, nothing is said of the cradle itself, from which that name is derived. On the other hand, the minor relics are duly catalogued. They form an interesting record of the simplicity of mediæval faith. Indeed, the list is

[1] The authenticity of this relic is considered by many to be sufficiently guaranteed by the antiquity of the name Sta Maria ad Præsepe. The basilica is found to bear this designation as early as the time of Pope Theodore (642–649). It has been conjectured that, in consequence of the invasion of Palestine by the Arabs, certain relics of our Lord's infancy were brought to Rome for greater security shortly before this date. See F. Liverani, *Del Nome di Sta Maria ad Præsepe*, p. 67, etc. Unfortunately for this theory, the name can be shown to be older than the Arab invasion, for the record of the donations of Xanthippe, preserved in an exact copy of the ninth century, belongs itself to the sixth, and contains the designation, *Basilicæ S. Dei Genitricis quæ appellatur ad Præsepem*. In the last important monograph dealing with this subject, *Le Memorie Liberiane dell' Infanzia di N.S. Gesù Cristo*, Rome, 1894, Mgr. Cozza Luzzi frankly avows that all positive evidence for the authenticity of the relics of the crib, etc., is wanting before the eleventh century. Strangely enough, an inscription in Greek uncials of the eighth century is found on one of the boards; the inscription has apparently nothing to do with the crib. It is hard to explain its presence on the supposition that the relic is authentic.

moderate compared with many others that might be cited. We modernise the spelling :—

> Above the stone a griddle is,
> Of iron strong I wot it is ;
> And relics there be many a one,
> In honour of our Lady and her Son.

The two relics first mentioned concern the infancy. They are the cloth that Christ was wrapped in when He was born (? the swaddling clothes), and a portion of the hay which served him for a bed.

> A little cloth there is thereto,
> In which Christ's body was first ydo,
> Of His Mother when He was born
> To save the world that was forlorn.
> And of that hay more and lasse (less)
> That Christ lay on before the ass.

The relics next mentioned have a special interest for English pilgrims, and are likely to have been quite authentic. They are still, we understand, preserved at St. Mary Major.

> And an arm, men say, is there,
> Of Saint Thomas, the holy martyr,
> And a parte of the brain,
> At Canterbury he was slain.
> And a rochet that is good,
> All besprinkled with his blood,
> Which he had on, when he was take
> For all Holy Church's sake.

CHAPTER V

THE CONDITIONS OF THE JUBILEE

The discussion of the conditions imposed for gaining the indulgence of the *anno santo* need not detain us long. The requirements, providing we confine ourselves to the pilgrims who visit Rome during the ordinary Jubilee—and it is for them that this book is written—are in fact very simple. Arranging them under four heads, there must be: (1) true repentance for past sin; (2) confession and communion; (3) visits to the appointed basilicas; (4) prayer for the Pope's intention.

I.—True Repentance.

Every well-instructed Catholic will understand that without this there can be no valid reception of the sacraments, and consequently the mention of sorrow for sin as a separate condition is in some sense superfluous. But from the very first Jubilee onwards, emphasis has been laid on the fact that the indulgence is granted only to those who are truly penitent. This does not mean that our sorrow must necessarily extend to every venial transgression which stains the soul. Only that kind of sorrow is strictly speaking required which is essential to a state of grace, and which consists in the detestation of past grievous offences and in the resolution of avoiding anything in future which might forfeit God's friendship. But the more intense his sorrow is, and the more com-

pletely it extends to every fault which stains and disfigures the soul, the greater may be the pilgrim's confidence of gaining the remissions of the Jubilee in their entirety. According to the more common opinion of theologians, it is not indispensably necessary that this sorrow for past sin should accompany the performance of each and all of the conditions of the Jubilee. It is indispensable, of course, for the valid reception of the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. Moreover, in the case that some of the other prescribed conditions yet remain to be performed, it is also indispensable for the final discharge of these obligations, for the indulgence cannot be granted to one who has not yet fulfilled the conditions, and it cannot be granted to one who is out of the grace of God.[1] For this reason it is usually recommended that the special Jubilee confession and communion should be made to follow rather than to precede the visits to the churches.

II.—Confession and Communion.

The second condition is the worthy reception of the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist.[2] This is a usual though not an invariable condition for gaining a plenary indulgence. Wherever the reception of the holy sacrament of Penance is formally prescribed, it is not sufficient that a man be already in

[1] Father Hilgers pronounces that if, after making the Jubilee confession and communion, the pilgrim should unfortunately lose the grace of God by grievous sin before completing the series of visits, a mere act of perfect contrition, even though it restores God's friendship and enables the pilgrim to perform the last conditions in a state of grace, is not sufficient for the gaining of the Jubilee indulgence. A second confession is necessary. (*Das Goldene Jahr*, p. 55. So also Beringer, *Les Indulgences*, vol. i. pp. 484, 485.)

[2] The reception of Holy Communion was first imposed as a necessary condition for gaining the Jubilee indulgence by Benedict XIV in 1750.

a state of grace—the state in which a good confession places him—nor that he be restored to a state of grace by an act of perfect contrition ; it is rather the actual confession itself which is necessary. It would not therefore suffice for the Jubilee indulgence that the sacraments have been received at Easter. The sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist must be received expressly for the purpose of gaining the indulgence.

It is not stated in the Bull that pilgrims to Rome must make their confession and communion there. This is optional, and the confession and communion need not even immediately precede or follow the visits to the churches, but this reception of the two sacraments must be distinct from that which is performed in discharge of the annual Easter obligation, and it must take place, like the other Jubilee observances, within the twelve months for which the Jubilee is granted.

A general confession is not prescribed, unless on account of previous invalid confessions such a confession is necessary. Seeing, however, that for most people a general confession—whether it be a complete review of their whole life past or be confined to a partial repetition of the matter of former confessions—is to be recommended on special occasions, the occasion of the Jubilee, the Holy Year, the first of a new epoch, might seem a peculiarly fitting time for it. It should be made as devoutly as possible, after earnest preparation, with true contrition and firm purpose of amendment, so that it may be truly said of this work of God in our souls, " Behold I make all things new."

Inasmuch as the great work of the Jubilee, the remission of sin and of the punishments of sin, is accomplished primarily through the sacramental absolution, it is the invariable practice of the Pope to grant special powers at this season for the absolving

of those more grievous offences which are usually reserved to the bishops or to himself.

III.—Visits to the Appointed Basilicas.

The next condition for gaining the Jubilee indulgence consists in the visits to be paid to the four chief basilicas of Rome. Of course, the making these visits, except for those who reside in Rome, involves a pilgrimage to the Holy City, in whatever way the journey may be made. The four basilicas, as we have already seen, are the cathedral and tomb of St. Peter, beside the Vatican Hill on the right bank of the Tiber, and the Church of St. Paul, without the walls of the city, on the left bank of the Tiber, where is the resting-place of the Apostle of the Gentiles. To these are added the basilica of St. John Lateran, dedicated to the Saviour of the world, as being the oldest, and also the mother of all churches; and that of Sta Maria Maggiore, as being the largest and most important of the churches in Rome dedicated to our Lady.

Visits to these four churches of Rome are generally enjoined at ordinary Jubilees. But whereas formerly the number of visits to be paid was thirty for dwellers in Rome and fifteen for pilgrims, Pius XI, following the example of his predecessors, has reduced this number to twenty days for Catholics living in Rome and ten days for those who come from a distance. Even this number is commonly considerably reduced in practice, the Jubilee confessors in Rome having powers for the purpose.

These days and visits need not be consecutive; it suffices that the days on which they are paid all fall within the Holy Year. Also, either the civil day, from midnight to midnight, or the ecclesiastical day, which is reckoned from the first vespers of one day to the close of evening of the next, may be chosen as the space of time within which the visits of that one

day are paid. But during this time, whether it be a civil or an ecclesiastical day, each of the four churches must be visited, and there may not be two visits out of the twenty or ten requisite, paid on the same day.[1] Twenty such visits are prescribed, both for those who always live in Rome and also for those who have a domicile there during the Holy Year. For those pilgrims who come in from the suburbs merely to gain the Jubilee indulgence, ten visits only are requisite. It should also be mentioned that these visits to the churches, as well as the journey to Rome, need not be made on foot.

If more than one visit to the same church is permitted on the same day, the visits must really be distinct. After each visit the church must be left at least for a few minutes.

If a church be so full that it is impossible to enter, it suffices for the fulfilling the condition to recite the prescribed prayers at the church door near the rest of the faithful who may be standing there.

IV.—Prayer for the Pope's Intention.

The last observance to be spoken of, viz. the saying of prayers for a prescribed intention, is closely con-

[1] Except in so far as the civil and ecclesiastical day overlap. Thus a person arriving in Rome on Monday at nine in the morning might visit the four churches before 2 p.m., and supposing him to have ended with the basilica of St. Paul outside the walls, he might again, after a brief interval, visit the Church of St. Paul, seeing that after two the first vespers of the next ecclesiastical day may be considered to have begun. In this way eight visits might be lawfully paid between sunrise and sunset, but it would not be possible for him to pay eight visits on the next day, Tuesday, but only those belonging to the ecclesiastical day, which begins at 2 p.m. It would seem that dispensations are commonly given to those who cannot make a long stay in Rome, allowing them to perform two or more sets of visits on the same day. Thus, supposing that a pilgrim be dispensed and required to make only four visits to each church, it would, with this relaxation, be sufficient for him to pay two distinct visits to each church, with the shortest of intervals between, on the first and some other day, leaving himself quite free for the rest of his stay in Rome.

nected with the preceding in so far as these prayers are to be recited during the visits paid to the churches.

The intention with which they are to be said is that which, in the case of other indulgences, is commonly known as " The Intention of the Holy Father," which, in particular, is interpreted to mean the exaltation of the Church, the uprooting of heresy, concord between Catholic Sovereigns, and the well-being of all Christian peoples.

As with other indulgences, so also with that of the Jubilee, it is not necessary, although it is always a laudable practice, to direct the intention explicitly to each of these four objects in particular. Whoever makes the visits as prescribed, and prays devoutly each time in order to gain the Jubilee indulgence, is really praying for the intention of the Holy Father, even although he may not have each of these four objects explicitly before his mind. The same thing holds good with regard to the intention with which all the prescribed works are performed. It is quite true that each and every one of the observances enjoined must be performed with the intention of gaining the indulgence, or of sharing in the pardon of the Jubilee. But it is evident that he who honestly desires to comply with all needful conditions also has the necessary purpose of gaining the indulgence. The formal renewal of this good intention is not requisite before each work.

As regards the prayers to be recited, their purport and length, nothing is added to the general rule which holds in all indulgenced prayers said for the intention of the Holy Father. It is sufficient to pray orally, although this does not mean to pray with the lips alone, for in any good prayer the heart must be raised to God. Whoever makes his prayer mentally must add at least one vocal prayer thereto. It is generally considered that five Our Fathers and Hail Marys, or any other devotions of similar length,

suffice for the purpose, and this opinion may be safely followed. Other prayers, according to the needs and judgment of each, can, of course, be recited in addition.

Plenary Powers of Confessors during the Jubilee Time.

During the Holy Year, and also during the time of the extension of the Jubilee to the rest of Christendom, the Holy Father grants extraordinary powers to confessors, but only for the benefit of those who intend to comply with the requisite conditions with a view to gaining the Jubilee indulgence.

These powers are set forth in detail and published, and each confessor is bound to act in strict accordance with the terms of his commission. It is unnecessary to go into details, but we may note in general that the plenary powers referred to enable the confessor: (1) To commute the prescribed works for others; (2) to absolve from sins ordinarily reserved to the bishop or the Pope and from ecclesiastical censures; (3) to dispense from most kinds of simple vows or to commute them into other good works.

If anyone knowingly and wilfully makes a bad confession, such a person naturally cannot gain the Jubilee indulgence, neither has he any share in the privileges named. On the other hand, he who in good faith makes a Jubilee confession, having at the time the intention of performing the other conditions, is, and remains, freed from all reserved sins and ecclesiastical censures, and is released from any vows which may have been commuted for him, even if, from any reason, the confession was not entire, or if the penitent does not afterwards fulfil the remaining conditions, and consequently does not gain the indulgence. Indeed, the reservation of a sin is equally cancelled in the Jubilee confession, even if the penitent

forgot expressly to mention these reserved sins, provided only that the confession was made in good faith, and he intended to fulfil all the Jubilee works. It will be sufficient for him to accuse himself of the forgotten sin in his next confession to any confessor, even after the expiration of the Jubilee season.

The confessor can then and there release a penitent from the reservation of sins, and from censures, and also commute a vow for other works, even if for good reasons he defers giving him absolution. The penitent must only be willing to follow the directions of the confessor and to fulfil the remaining Jubilee observances. Moreover, the confessor can absolve such a penitent even after the expiration of the Jubilee, provided no hindrance then exist to his so doing.

Further Jubilee Regulations.

It may be seen how desirous the Pope is that the faithful should make the pilgrimage to Rome in order to gain there the Jubilee indulgence, from the fact that during the time of its duration in Rome, *i.e.* from the first vespers of Christmas, 1924, to the vespers of Christmas Eve, 1925, other indulgences, either plenary or partial, for the benefit of the living are suspended. This does not apply to the period of the *extension* of the Jubilee to the rest of the world after the Jubilee year itself is over.

The indulgences of privileged altars, and in general all indulgences granted only for the benefit of the dead, are not withdrawn. Moreover, what is still more important, during the Jubilee year all indulgences (even those granted for the benefit of the living and suspended so far as these are concerned) may be gained for the dead, even although they may not have been specially declared to be applicable to the souls in purgatory.

Lastly, a certain number of indulgences have not

been suspended, and can be gained by the living for their own benefit. The most important of these are: (1) The plenary indulgence at the hour of death; (2) the indulgence for saying the *Angelus*; (3) the indulgence for the Quarant' Ore; (4) the Portiuncula indulgence [1]; (5) the indulgences which are granted by cardinal legates, nuntios, and bishops. This does not, however, apply to the indulgence attached to the papal benediction which the bishops are accustomed to give twice a year. On the same grounds as those upon which the majority of indulgences are withdrawn during the Holy Year, the Popes during the same period suspend most of the extraordinary powers granted to bishops and to confessors outside of Rome. The wording of the Papal Constitution, however, explains this matter in detail, and confessors must be guided by its provisions.

In view of this wholesale suspension of the ordinary indulgences the question is not infrequently asked in what respect is the Jubilee to be regarded as a privilege. Except for certain extended powers given to confessors, of which probably not one person in a hundred of those who make the Jubilee has any occasion to avail himself, the Holy Year offers no greater privileges or remissions than an ordinary plenary indulgence; and, whereas, during ordinary years such plenary indulgences are open to the faithful every time they choose to approach the sacraments, in the Jubilee year they can gain the same, practically speaking, but once, and then only at the cost of a long journey and of numerous visits to the churches, involving several days' residence in Rome.

The objection is certainly a formidable one, and we can only answer that the common opinion, while it seems to regard the gaining of an ordinary plenary

[1] This applies only to the Portiuncula as gained in the church of Sta Maria degli Angeli near Assisi.

indulgence as an extremely difficult task, rarely accomplished even by the holiest, looks upon the complete remission of the Jubilee as much more easy of attainment by all who honestly do their best to comply with the conditions. After all, we know little or nothing, as the best authorities freely confess, about the manner in which indulgences take effect. It is quite conceivable that, besides the dispositions of the penitent, something also depends upon the greater or less intensity of the Pope's desire to communicate them. We know that since the time of Boniface VIII it has been the Pope's will to grant "not only full and more generous, but the fullest, pardon of sins," or, again in his own words, to bestow remission "as far as ever the power of the keys may extend." We know, moreover, that in the Jubilee the pilgrims are engaged not so much in a private work of devotion as in an act of public homage to St. Peter and the Holy See in which they are supported and borne along by the prayers of the Universal Church. It is noteworthy also that in that same Bull of Boniface VIII the Pope lays it down, seemingly as a principle, that "each one will merit more, and gain the indulgence more efficaciously, the more frequent and devout are his visits to the basilicas." [1] This clearly suggests that the more arduous are the conditions of an indulgence the more likely it is to be gained in full by those who generously comply with these conditions.

However, when all this has been said, it seems useless and unnecessary to deny that the lavish bestowal of indulgences by the Popes, eager by every means in their power to attract to the King's supper even "the poor and the feeble, the blind and the lame," has involved them in certain inconsistencies. When the Jubilee was first proclaimed in 1300, a

[1] "Unusquisque tamen plus merebitur et indulgentiam efficacius consequetur quo basilicas ipsas amplius et devotius frequentabit."

plenary indulgence was accounted a stupendous and almost unheard-of thing, and for long years afterwards this great pardon seemed to swallow up all lesser pardons, and it was conceived to be only reasonable that at the season of such prodigal expenditure of the "treasure" of the Church in this one magnificent grant, a certain economy should be exercised in other directions. Moreover, it is obvious that the Popes suspended the local and other indulgences in order that no conflicting attractions in the spiritual order might divert men from that journey to Rome which the Holy See had so much at heart. It is easy to suggest sordid motives for the creation of this temporary monopoly, and we need not even scruple to admit that, human nature being human nature, the Popes were not entirely blind to the temporal advantages which, in this earlier stage, the multitude of pilgrims might bring; but we have also seen that this intimate intercourse between the out-lying members and the mother city, the centre of Catholic life, was not only beneficial to both but almost a necessary condition of the unity of the Church. The Popes could hardly render a more real service to distant countries than by using every legitimate means to secure a vast concourse of all nations to the Eternal City during the Jubilee season. Rome is essentially conservative and faithful to old traditions, and so the old suspension of indulgences is still maintained, and the faithful are still summoned to Rome by this kind of pious coercion, even now when the Jubilee seems to take away more spiritual favours than it bestows, and when, on the other hand, the crowds flocking to Rome have been for centuries past much more of a burden than of a benefit to the papal finances.

Finally, it may be useful to translate from an Italian Jubilee sheet, formerly circulated in Rome, a compendium of practical directions for the gaining of

the indulgence of the Holy Year.[1] It will serve to summarise and, in some cases, to supplement the information more discursively given above.

The Works enjoined for the Gaining of the Jubilee Indulgence.

1. The requisite conditions are three—confession, communion, and visits to the four basilicas.

2. It is not necessary that the confession and communion should precede the visits, but these two sacraments may be received either during the visits or at the termination of them.

3. It is necessary that the last of the works enjoined be performed in a state of grace, hence it is recommended that confession and communion should be made after the visits.

4. Pilgrims who have fallen ill on the road, and are not able to continue the journey to Rome, as well as those who, having arrived there, are prevented by illness from beginning or completing the visits, are dispensed from them without asking for a commutation.

5. Enclosed nuns, lay sisters, women and girls who are inmates of converts, hermits or religious men belonging to strictly enclosed orders, and prisoners, are dispensed from the visits, provided they substitute for them acts of piety and charity which shall be imposed by the Cardinal Vicar,[2] or by confessors deputed by him.

6. Pilgrims who, from poverty or other grave reasons, cannot remain long in Rome, Romans who, through illness or other legitimate reasons, may be hindered from making the visits, can obtain a commutation of the said visits for other pious works, from confessors deputed for this purpose.

[1] It is entitled *Ricordo ai Pellegrini*, Anno Santo 1900, Numero Unico della Vera Roma.

[2] This, of course, applies only to residents in Rome.

Confession and the Jubilee.

7. The confession must be made with the express intention of gaining the Jubilee indulgence, and the yearly Easter confession of obligation is not sufficient.

8. The confession must be valid, and the Jubilee is not gained by a sacrilegious confession; a general confession is not requisite.

9. He who is guilty of venial sins only is bound to confess them, and to perform the penance assigned him.

10. If any one has forgotten to accuse himself of some grievous sin, he is recommended to confess this sin before completing the Jubilee conditions, to obtain "direct" absolution for it.

11. If anyone should fall into grievous sin after having made his confession, he should confess again before fulfilling the rest of the works enjoined. Those, however, already performed need not be repeated.

12. The confession may be made in any place, and not necessarily in Rome.

13. In order to facilitate the gaining of the indulgence, and absolution from censures, all the parish priests of Rome and other penitentiaries, besides those of the four basilicas, are given the fullest faculties.

14. For the gaining of the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee, any approved confessor may be chosen by the penitent.

15. To obtain absolution, however, from censures, and in reserved cases, recourse must be had to one of the appointed penitentiaries.

16. The penitentiaries attached to the churches of Rome, and the other appointed confessors, have faculties to dispense from, or to reduce the number of visits, in the case of pilgrims who come to Rome for the Holy Year.

Communion and the Jubilee.

17. The communion must be sacramental and valid, distinct from the Easter communion, and made with the intention of gaining the Jubilee indulgence.

18. Children not yet admitted to Holy Communion can obtain a dispensation from that condition from their own parish priest or their confessor, as the case may be, at the confession made for gaining the Jubilee.

19. The communion may be made in any church, and consequently need not be made in Rome.

The Visits of the Holy Jubilee.

20. The basilicas appointed for the performance of the Jubilee visits are—St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and St. Mary Major; and these basilicas must all be visited the same day, either civil or ecclesiastical.

21. The natural day extends from one midnight to the next. The ecclesiastical day from the first vespers of one day to sunset on the day following. First vespers may be reckoned as beginning at two o'clock p.m., and sunset about one hour after the Angelus.

22. Those who have a permanent domicile in Rome, whether Romans or not, and those who live within five miles of the walls of Rome, must pay these visits to the basilicas for twenty days, either consecutively or with interruptions.

23. Those who have no permanent domicile in Rome must visit the four basilicas in the same day, for ten days, either consecutively or intermittently.

24. It is not requisite that the visits should be made in a state of grace, although that is desirable; it suffices to perform the last of the requisite conditions in a state of grace.

25. It is not necessary to go on foot to pay the visits. Any means of performing the journey may be made use of.

26. It is enjoined that in order to gain the Holy Jubilee, visits must be paid to the four basilicas, and prayers offered in them, but it is not necessary to enter or go out by the Holy Doors.

27. If, on account of an unusual crowd of people, it is impossible to gain admittance to the basilica, the obligation is satisfied by praying outside. Should the basilicas be closed at the time, the visit can be made on the steps of the church.

28. The Holy Father wishes that at the visit prayers should be devoutly offered for the exaltation of the Church, the extirpation of heresy, concord between Christian princes, and the welfare of Christian people.

29. Some kind of vocal prayer is prescribed; but each one may say what prayers he chooses, or what he knows by heart.

30. It is sufficient to recite five *Paters*, *Aves*, and *Glorias*, or other prayers of equal length.

31. If pilgrims who come in bands to Rome desire a reduction in the number of visits, they can make petition to that effect, addressing themselves to the Cardinal Prefect of the Holy Congregation of the Apostolic Penitentiary—*Palazzo della Cancelleria*—Rome.

CHAPTER VI

ROMA LA SANTA

Amongst the historical collections in the Print Room of the British Museum is an ill-executed but interesting engraving, reproduced on a later page, which was designed by a certain John Baptist de Caballeriis, to illustrate the spiritual glories of the Jubilee of 1575. At the head of the copious letterpress description which fills its lower margin may be read the following address: "Thou hast here, Christian reader, a portraiture of the City of Rome, not that city which is constituted of hills and open spaces, and the magnificence of public buildings, but that which is spiritually built up of Christian virtues and grows into a 'Holy City, coming down out of heaven from God, and having a glory of God' (Apoc. xxi. 10, 11). If thou wouldst look upon the majesty thereof, then must thou diligently observe these few points which will disclose the meaning of this picture."

It would be a mistake to suppose that this and a good many similar pronouncements which appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were prompted by a spirit of mere *réclame*, cynically indifferent to the true facts of the case. There was in reality a spiritual city, very different from the luxurious and sinful Rome of Alexander VI and Leo X; very different even from the temporal capital of the states of the Church, with its ecclesiastical magistracy and its petty intrigues and cabals. This spiritual Rome, the Rome of St. Philip Neri, of St. Ignatius Loyola,

of St. Camillus de Lellis, of St. John Baptist de Rossi, and of countless hidden saints and holy religious, was that which was brought into prominence by the Jubilee, and which lent help and encouragement to the struggling souls of the pilgrims who flocked thither at such seasons. History, that is to say the type of history which is most in favour with reviewers and university examiners, tells us little of this spiritual city with its confraternities and hospices and religious houses, and yet there is no aspect of pontifical Rome which is better worth chronicling. Those who have admired and wondered at the changeless endurance of the Catholic Church, in spite of all the forces arrayed against her from within and without, have not always attended sufficiently to that hidden life of Christian charity and Christian austerity which is the secret of all her strength.

We have said that this title of *Roma la Santa* was no baseless fiction, and it is a striking thing how profoundly the truth seems to have come home to those who knew the city well, and who had sufficient experience of other lands to be able to draw comparisons. An interesting testimony, to take one amongst many, comes to hand in a letter of a rather famous Spaniard who settled in Rome as a vigorous old man with twenty years of life still before him. It was in 1567 that Dr. Martin de Azpilcueta, best known as the canonist Navarrus, a near relative of St. Francis Xavier, first came to Rome, and these were the terms in which, after three years' residence in the Eternal City, he wrote to his family in Spain :—

"I ought to understand and realise better than anybody that we are only pilgrims upon the earth. It was in Navarre that I first saw the light ; I was educated at Alcalà in New Castille ; my early manhood was spent in France ; Salamanca in Old Castille advanced me to preferment ; then Portugal honoured me still further. It would, in fact, have exalted me

far above my merits, if my good angel, so at least I believe, had not drawn me away from thence, but it is still Portugal that supplies my needs with the salary, an unheard-of generosity, which I draw from the professorial chair I once occupied at Coimbra. After leaving Portugal I passed nearly a dozen years either in Navarre or in the two Castilles. These three states welcomed me most kindly and sought my counsel in many matters. At one time during this period the king's sister took me for her confessor and asked me to direct the conscience of her two nephews, the Princes of Bohemia. At last, after a life so full of changes, I came to Italy, and here I have been at Rome for these three years past, in the seventy-eighth year of my age.[1]

"I now know how much honour is due to the inhabitants of Rome. They receive us well—all of us, whatever nation we belong to; they show us respect; they offer us affection. If anyone comes to them who is unworthy of their favour they leave him alone, but they speak no evil of him unless he be himself the first to speak evil. I have seen devotion in other countries, but as for that of the Romans I am never tired of admiring it. It fills me with stupefaction, for I cannot explain such fervour, such indefatigable piety on the part of all, great, middling, and little, men, women, and children, rich and poor. How keen they are in the pursuit of indulgences, how they love to pay honour to our Lord, our Lady, the Saints, wherever any festival summons them! I see them come in on foot a distance of sixteen miles with extraordinary piety and modesty bent upon visiting, especially during Lent, as many as four, seven, or nine churches in a day, and in such crowds that, in order to assist at the Holy Sacrifice and the other offices of the Church, they almost imperil their lives.

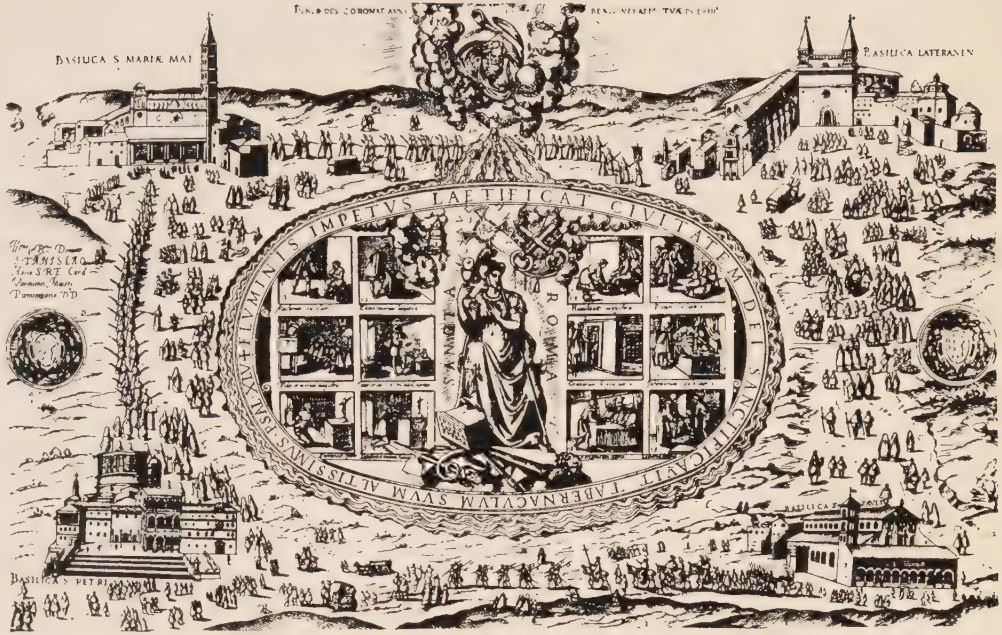
[1] Dr. Martin Azpilcueta died at Rome in 1586 at the age of ninety-five.

Assuredly, if one wishes to know what Rome really is in this respect as well as in many others, it is far better (I speak from experience) to see for one's self than to hear what others say. O princes and citizens of Rome, I pray that you guard very, very carefully this pearl of your piety!" [1]

It must not, of course, be forgotten that this letter was written during the pontificate of the most ascetic of all the occupants of the papal See in modern times, St. Pius V. The Romans, according to the testimony of all who know them best, are a very impressionable people. They catch with singular readiness the tone of those who rule them, and respond with enthusiasm to all good influences, though they are also sadly inconstant in their pious purposes when the examples before them are adverse. Naturally this type of character is easily worked upon by such devotional exercises as those of the Jubilee, where the contagious emotion of large crowds makes itself readily felt, but the piety is thoroughly sincere while it lasts, and there is no reason to distrust the accounts which we read of the extraordinary spectacles of charity and devotion which were exhibited on these occasions.

Turning then again to our Jubilee print of 1575, we find a huge allegorical device in which are more or less aptly symbolised the various works of charity and piety of which Rome was especially the home at such seasons. In the corners we have representations of the four basilicas, while along the margins are portrayed processions of pilgrims making their way from one to another, with the cardinals' coaches or ecclesiastics on horseback scattered at intervals here and there. In the centre we have an allegorical figure of *Roma la Santa* (Rome the Holy) trampling upon idolatry and inundated with streams of grace Then grouped around this controlling impersonation we see

[1] L. J. M. Cros, *Documents Nouveaux sur St. François de Xavier*, vol. i. p. 505.



A JUBILEE PRINT DESIGNED FOR THE CELEBRATION OF 1575.

To face p. 124.

twelve vignettes descriptive of those works of piety and charity to which we have referred, each of them representing the sanctity of Rome under a new aspect. Taking them in order, they run as follows : I. *Mistress of faith and morals*—a preacher addressing a congregation. II. *Spur to devotion and prayer*—a figure praying before an altar. III. *Mirror of penance*—a penitent taking the discipline upon his bare shoulders. IV. *The norm of fasting and abstinence*—a man dining apparently upon bread and water. V. *The generous dispenser of alms*—money being put into a poor-box. VI. *Consoler of the sorrowful*—a visit being paid to someone in grief. VII. *Mistress of humility*—the washing of the feet. VIII. *Promoter of piety*—a figure teaching children, and apparently giving them rosaries. IX. *Channel of mercies*—a prisoner being set at liberty. X. *Comforter of the sick*—a visit paid to a sufferer in bed. XI. *The home of the pilgrim*—three pilgrims being waited on at table. XII. *The patroness of the needy*—a dole of food distributed to the poor.

We have already heard something of the work of the Arch-Confraternity of the Holy Trinity founded by the exertions of St. Philip Neri. It was undoubtedly by means of this association that the most extraordinary example of charity to the poorer class of pilgrims was shown. The statistics preserved to us of the enormous numbers that were assisted in various ways during the more frequented Holy Years seem almost incredible, but there is no reason to doubt that the books were carefully kept. Without going into unnecessary details, the following salient facts may be borrowed from a popular account of the institution, a broadside printed in Italian for distribution in the Jubilee of 1650, a copy of which is in the British Museum.

The Arch-Confraternity of the Holy Trinity is constantly occupied in the care of convalescents and in the lodging of pilgrims, and this more especially

during the Holy Year, on account of the crowds that then come in from all parts. Since the last Jubilee, 1625,[1] they have tended 24,396 convalescents, giving them nourishing and substantial food; and provided board and lodging for three, four, or more days to 588,633 pilgrims. It seems as if during the present Holy Year the numbers would exceed those of any previous Jubilee.

On arriving in Rome, the pilgrims proceed to the Church of the Confraternity, where they are received by those deputed for the office and interrogated as to the place of their birth and as to their family. Inquiry is also made whether they be priests, in which case, as is fitting, they have a prior claim on the confraternity. The name, surname, and nationality of each is then noted in a book. The female pilgrims are in like manner received in their part of the hospice by women, among whom are often many princesses and ladies of rank, who do honour to their nobility by taking part in this holy service. After being admitted the pilgrims have every need supplied, and are waited on, and have their feet washed by princes, cardinals, and often by the Holy Father himself. Meanwhile, their meal is prepared in the kitchen, and they are invited to seat themselves at tables laden with good cheer and wine, men and women being served in different dining-rooms. Supper being over, at which many Capuchins and other religious assist, besides the nobles, etc., already mentioned, the pilgrims are conducted to comfortable beds, and the more infirm of them assisted to undress. But this generous arch-confraternity is not content with caring for the bodies only of the pilgrims. A number of priests are specially retained to catechise and instruct them, that they may be induced to frequent the sacraments, and, if need be, they preach to them in various languages in a way suited to their capacity. In their

[1] This was written at the beginning of February, 1650.

visits to the four churches the pilgrims are escorted by guides and instructed, Communion being given them at St. Paul's and the relics of the saints in all the churches being freely shown them. A collation is afterwards served to them in the courtyard of St. John Lateran, or in some other spacious place, and after having received the benediction of the Holy Father they are taken back to the hospice, where a paper is read to them explaining the nature and value of the indulgence they have gained. "If space permitted," the account concludes, "we could have narrated in more detail the part played in all these proceedings by cardinals, princes, prelates, and nobles of all ranks. These vie with each other in generosity, spending liberally to supply all the needs of the pilgrims, providing lights for the hospice, and good food and entertainment of all kinds."

There seems to be absolutely no reason to believe that this account is in any way exaggerated. Indeed, we have abundant testimony from very different sources, some of which has already been quoted in our notice of the individual Jubilees, that the personal participation of the cardinals, prelates, noble ladies, and even of the Pope himself, in rendering the most humiliating services to the pilgrims was no flight of the imagination, but a sober reality. This admirable work was carried on by the arch-confraternity down to the Jubilee of 1825. Of this, Cardinal Wiseman, as already noted, has left us a singularly interesting account, and we cannot do better than retain his own words in giving some idea of the working of this mediæval organisation under comparatively modern conditions.[1]

"The pilgrim on his arrival at the house had his papers of pilgrimage examined, and received his ticket of hospitality. In the evening the new-comers were brought into a hall surrounded by raised seats, and

[1] *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, p. 279 *seq.*

provided with an abundant supply of hot and cold water. Then, after a short prayer, the brethren of the confraternity, or the sisters in their part of the house, washed their feet, way-worn and sore by days or weeks of travel. . . . Thus refreshed, the pilgrims joined the long procession to supper.

"A bench along the wall, and a table before it, railed off to prevent the pressure of curious multitudes, were simple arrangements enough, but the endless length of these, occupied by men of every hue and many languages, formed a striking spectacle. Before each guest was his plate, knife, fork, and spoon, bread, wine, and dessert. A door in each refectory communicated with a roomy hall, in which huge cauldrons smoked with a supply of savoury soup sufficient for an army. . . . A cardinal or nobleman, in the coarse red gown and badge of the brotherhood, with a white apron over it, armed with a ladle, dispensed the steaming fluid into plates held ready; and a string of brothers, at arms' length from one another all round the refectory, handed forward the plates with the alacrity of bricklayers' labourers, and soon furnished each hungry recipient with his steaming portion. Two additional rations were served out in the same manner. . . . Opposite each guest stood a serving man who poured out his wine, cut his bread, etc., and chatted with him. Now, these were not hired servitors, but all brethren of the confraternity; sometimes a royal prince, generally some cardinals, always bishops, prelates, noblemen, priests, gentry, and artificers. Then, occasionally, a sudden commotion, a movement through the crowd . . . just as prayers were beginning. The Holy Father was coming without notice. Indeed, none was required: he came simply to do what everyone else was going to do, only he had the first place. He knelt before the first line of pilgrims, taking his chance of who it might be. . . . Supper ended, and its baskets of fragments for the

THE POPE WAITING ON THE PILGRIMS AT TABLE DURING THE JUBILEE.

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THE POPE WASHING THE FEET OF THIRTEEN POOR MEN ON MAUNDY THURSDAY.

To face p. 129.

morrow's breakfast put by, the long file proceeded upstairs to bed, singing one of the short religious strains in which all Italians can join. During the day the pilgrims were conducted in bands from sanctuary to sanctuary; were instructed at stated times; were directed to the performance of their higher religious duties by frequenting the sacraments; and at the close of the three days were dismissed in peace, and returned home, or remained in the city at their own charge. The Pope also, we may note, daily served in his own palace twelve pilgrims at table."

What Cardinal Wiseman describes from his own observation in 1825 is equally well attested by eye-witnesses at an earlier epoch. Take, for instance, this account of Mr. Richard Lassels, a seventeenth-century traveller, who, Catholic though he was, was no zealot, and who had more experience of foreign lands than almost any Englishman of his day.

"Here you shall find the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, which in the Jubilee year of Clement the VIII is found to have treated at table in one day 15,000 pilgrims, and in the whole year 500,000. The last Jubilee year, 1650, I myself was present one day when the said hospital treated 9,000 pilgrims that day, the Pope himself (Innocent the X) and many of the cardinals having been there to wash the feet of the pilgrims and to serve them at table." [1]

The Maundy, or washing of the feet of thirteen poor men, is still performed every year by the Pope in person on Maundy Thursday, and this ceremony, commemorative of the action of our Blessed Lord before the Passion, may be traced back as a quasi-ecclesiastical function to the earliest ages of the Church. The Catholic sovereigns of Europe have

[1] R. Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, vol. i. p. 8. The original owner of the Jubilee broadside of 1699, now in the British Museum, has copied out this passage on the margin of the sheet.

not even yet entirely discontinued the practice, and the rulers of Spain, and pre-war Austria were not content with the distribution of a mere dole or bounty, as the fashion is in our Protestant land, but themselves rendered this menial service in person to some of their poorer subjects as to the representatives of Christ. Can anyone call this a superfluous or degrading rite and not rather see in it a singular and much-needed tribute to the truth of the Christian revelation? The more worthless or arrogant the character of the sovereign who renders such a service, the more perfunctory his discharge of the irksome task, so much the more forcible in some sense becomes the lesson thereby afforded that there is another kingdom, not of this world, in which some day all earthly precedence must be laid aside.

During the Jubilee years most of the Popes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries elected to discharge this and other like menial offices not once but many times. Clement X in 1675, though eighty-five years of age and a martyr to the gout, visited the Hospital of the Holy Trinity twelve times during the year, washing the feet of the pilgrims on each occasion and giving an alms to each one of them.[1] Clement VIII again insisted on performing the like office when one hand was crippled with the same complaint.[2] So, too, the last-named Pontiff, in order to impress upon the prelates and citizens of Rome that the season of the Jubilee was one of humiliation and penance and not of festivity, went abroad with the slenderest of retinues and in the simplest of attire and persuaded the cardinals that during the greater part of the *anno santo* they should wear woollen and violet instead of their ordinary robes of scarlet silk.[3] Of the suspension of the carnival and the prohibition of theatrical per-

[1] Novaes, *Storia de' Sommi Pontefici*, x. 244.
[2] *Ibid.*, lx. 54.
[3] Diary of Alaleona, MS. Ad. 8454, fol. 140 r° *seq.*

formances during these seasons it is unnecessary to speak. This dominant note of penance and humiliation is also made prominent in the pictures of the various Jubilee sheets such as that referred to at the beginning of this chapter, and in nearly all the discourses of famous preachers which make reference to the Holy Year.

Although the Arch-Confraternity of the Holy Trinity was by far the most conspicuous organisation in Rome which undertook the work of providing for the bodily and spiritual needs of the Jubilee pilgrims, it must not be supposed that the burden fell upon this body alone. Italy was at that time, and had been for centuries, one vast network of confraternities, or, as we should call them, religious guilds.[1] Nearly all of these had some conspicuous central association or *arch*-confraternity in Rome, with which those in outlying parishes or in other districts were in some sort of relation of correspondence or dependence. Now, at the Jubilee time the arch-confraternities in Rome made it a part of their duty to welcome and assist in every way the bodies of similar denomination and scope with which they were in communication in the surrounding country. The brothers of the arch-confraternity of gardeners or stonemasons would render all kind offices to provincial confraternities of gardeners and stonemasons; or a more strictly religious arch-confraternity, such as that of the Blessed Sacrament, would give a welcome to the pilgrims of other confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament which, in their object, origin, or regulations, were similar to their own. One of those illustrated Jubilee sheets of 1650, to which we have more than once referred, gives a description of the work done by these Roman arch-confraternities to help the associated branches in other parts of Italy, and, despite a certain re-

[1] See Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, third edition, vol. iii. pp. 43–52.

semblance in its main features to the account of the institute of the Holy Trinity, it seems worth while to reproduce it here. It is headed :—

An account of the way in which the Arch-Confraternities of Rome receive and entertain the Confraternities affiliated to them which come to Rome for the Jubilee.

" Letters of invitation are sent to the confraternities offering them hospitality, and a day before their arrival the latter send a messenger to the head of the arch-confraternity to give notice of their coming. The brethren are then bidden to meet at a certain hour in their oratory, and when all are assembled they sally forth in procession headed by their superiors, guardians, or priors, proceeded by the crucifix, with banners and lighted torches and a choir of musicians, making their way to the gate of the city by which the expected confraternity is to enter. On meeting them each stranger brother is placed between two of his Roman *confrères*, and when they reach the entrance of the city the strangers kneel and kiss the threshold of the gate, being assisted to rise by the Roman brothers who stand on either side. They usually proceed first to the church of the arch-confraternity, psalms and hymns being sung on the road thither by the musicians before named, while the people flock in crowds to see the sight. Having arrived at the church, the pilgrims are received with the usual religious ceremonies and then conducted to their lodging, where they are served and their feet washed by the most noble and distinguished members of the arch-confraternity, the women being in like manner cared for by noble ladies, no man being permitted to enter their quarters except a Capuchin or some other priest who goes to preach to them.

" The pilgrims are then entertained at a bountiful meal, during which some eloquent preacher discourses to them, and they are waited on and served by

CONFRATERNITY ASSEMBLING IN THEIR CHAPEL TO WELCOME A PROCESSION OF PILGRIMS.

PILGRIMS GOING IN PROCESSION TO VISIT THE FOUR CHURCHES.

To face p. 133.

cardinals, prelates, and princes, who frequently provide the banquet at their own expense. If the arch-confraternity does not possess a sufficiently large house to lodge so many guests, an adjacent *palazzo* is hired and comfortably fitted up for the accommodation of the pilgrims, who are conducted thither and waited upon by the Roman brothers.

" The next day experienced priests are in attendance ready to instruct them, hear their confessions, etc., and when they are sufficiently rested physically, and prepared spiritually, the arch-confraternity obtains permission for them from the Holy Father to gain the indulgence of the Jubilee by paying only one visit to the basilicas. They are then taken in procession, with music and other spiritual consolations, to the four churches. They usually receive Communion at St. Paul's without the walls, where numerous priests are in readiness to give them Holy Communion. As the most sacred and celebrated relics are preserved at these four churches, the pilgrims have also the opportunity afforded them of seeing and venerating these relics. About half-way, either in the courtyard of St. John Lateran or in some other commodious place, the arch-confraternity provides the customary collation, and at the end of the journey they are taken to the Apostolic Palace, where the Holy Father gives them his blessing. They are then conducted back to their own church or oratory, where, after returning thanks to God, the nature and value of the indulgence they have gained is explained to them. The pilgrims' feet are again washed, and they are regaled with a bountiful supper, and comfortably rested. They are entertained thus for a few days longer, and at their departure from Rome are accompanied in procession by the arch-confraternity to the gate of the city, returning to their own country much edified and in great content.

" This is the usual order of proceedings as practised

in the principal arch-confraternities, although they may be somewhat modified or altered according to the various regulations or customs of each in particular."[1]

It is obvious that the association of large masses of men joining together for a common religious purpose cannot have failed to enkindle their fervour in an unusual degree. Even at ordinary seasons the sights and associations of Rome seem to have called forth most striking manifestations of enthusiasm, especially at the time of the Holy Week processions and at the exhibition of the greater relics. We happen to possess a detailed account from the pen of the celebrated French essayist Michel de Montaigne of the spectacle which he witnessed in 1580 at the exposition of the Veronica or *Volto Santo* on Holy Thursday evening. This was not, of course, a Jubilee year, but his description will afford us an excellent idea of the spectacles which will have been renewed at such times with much greater frequency and upon an even grander scale.

It would not be easy to find a more satisfactory witness than this cynical old nobleman, who was in no danger of allowing his emotions to get the better of his judgment. Familiar as he was with the shows and the displays of the French capital, Montaigne seems to have been more struck by the procession of the confraternities which he witnessed at Rome in Holy Week in honour of the *Volto Santo* than by any similar scene in his experience. "No relic," he says, "has such veneration paid to it. The people throw themselves on their faces on the ground, most of them with tears in their eyes, and with lamentations and cries of compassion." The exposition of the

[1] This broadside, with two others of similar purport from which we have already quoted, is bound up in a volume of miscellaneous religious engravings in the Printed Book Department of the British Museum.

Volto Santo, as well as that of the Holy Lance, took place several times in the day, " with such an infinite concourse of people, that to a great distance from the church, at every point from which the eye could catch a glimpse of the platform from which the relics were shown, there was nothing but a dense mass of men and women." With regard to the procession in the evening he says :—

" The confraternities during Lent perform at times their religious exercises in common, and on this occasion they all walk in procession draped with linen gowns, each company having a different colour, some black, some white, some red, some blue, some green, and so on. Nearly all have their faces covered. . . .

" The most impressive sight I ever saw here or elsewhere was the incredible number of people who thronged every square and street, all taking an earnest part in the devotions of the occasion. They were flocking to St. Peter's all through the day, and on the approach of night the whole city seemed in flames. Each religious confraternity came up in order, each man with a torch, almost all of white wax. I am persuaded that there passed before me not fewer than twelve thousand of these torches at the very least, for from eight o'clock in the evening till midnight the street was constantly full of this moving pageantry marshalled in such excellent order and all so well timed that, though the entire procession, as I have said, was composed of a great number of different societies coming from different parts, yet not for one moment did I observe stoppage or gap or interruption. Each company was preceded by a band of music " (p. 309).

The writer then goes on to describe other features in the procession, more especially the penitents, numbers of whom, with shoulders bared, scourged themselves until their backs streamed with blood. His account is perhaps a little too realistic to be

reproduced here, but there are two observations particularly worthy of notice, confirmed as they are in every respect by the Dominican traveller, Father Labat, who visited Italy somewhat more than a century later.[1] In the first place, Montaigne was convinced of the entire genuineness of this severe penance which he witnessed, and he sets aside unhesitatingly the theory of some scoffers that the whole exhibition was but a stage trick performed to deceive the people. On the other hand, both he and Father Labat seem agreed that the contagious emotion and enthusiasm of the scene must have dulled to a very great extent the sense of pain and mitigated the suffering which this self-inflicted chastisement ought naturally to have produced. The flagellants in many cases laughed and jested as they moved along, and with merry Italian humour exchanged banter with the crowd of spectators. Neither would they seem to have been wholly indifferent to more worldly and mercenary considerations in deciding upon the particular confraternity whose banner they elected to follow. It is easy to sneer at the superstition and unreality of such penance as this, but it is precisely in matters of this sort that the average English Protestant goes so hopelessly astray. He can make no allowance for a national character which has never learned to dissociate cheerfulness from piety, the service of God from a practical and very matter-of-fact attention to temporal interests.[2]

[1] Cf. also the Travels of the Protestant Sir John Reresby, who witnessed a similar procession in Venice in 1657. (*Travels, etc.*, third edition, p. 73.)

[2] It should be noted that in the diaries of the papal masters of ceremonies the veneration of the *Volto Santo* is brought into some sort of formal connection with the Jubilee ceremonial. F. Mucanzio, for instance, tells us in his description of the closing rite that after vespers a procession is formed to the Holy Door *et ostenso vultu sancto* Papa stans sine mitra intonat antiphonam ex libro: *Cum jucunditate exibitis* (MS. Addit. 26811, fol. 169 r°). Again he tells us that the procession traversed the aisle of the *Volto Santo* (the northernmost aisle of the church), and there, with the Cardinals,

The deep impression produced by such scenes and by the magnificent ritual of the Church, carried out as it can be carried out in Rome alone, was not confined to Catholics. A Scottish Presbyterian, Dr. John Moore, the friend of Smollett and Dr. William Hunter, and himself an author of distinction, was present in 1775 at the closing ceremony of the Jubilee, and at the solemn benediction given by the Pope after High Mass the next day to the people in the Piazza of St. Peter's. He has left us an account of it in his very racy and interesting *View of Society and Manners in Italy*. We need make no apology for quoting this portion of his narrative without curtailment.

"After Mass, the Pope gave the benediction to the people assembled in the Grand Court before the Church of St. Peter's. It was a remarkably fine day. An immense multitude filled that spacious and magnificent area. The horse and foot guards were drawn up in their most showy uniform. The Pope, seated in an open portable chair, in all the splendour which his wardrobe could give, with the tiara on his head, was carried out of a large window, which opens on a balcony in front of St. Peter's. The silk hangings and gold trappings with which the chair was embellished concealed the men who carried it, so that to those who viewed him from the area below His Holiness seemed to sail forward from the window, self-balanced in the air, like a celestial being. The instant he appeared the music struck up, the bells rung from every church, and the cannon thundered from the castle of St. Angelo in repeated peals.

"During the intervals the Church of St. Peter's,

the Pope venerated upon his knees the *Volto Santo* and the Holy Lance (fol. 177 r°). The Holy Lance was at this time preserved in the same chapel with the handkerchief of St. Veronica. It had been given to Pope Innocent VIII less than a hundred years before by the Sultan Bajazet, not without an eye to certain political considerations, and the relic had been received in Rome with extraordinary enthusiasm. See Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, third edition, vol. iii. p. 238.

the palace of the Vatican, and the banks of the Tiber re-echoed to the acclamations of the populace. At length His Holiness arose from his seat, and an immediate and awful silence ensued. The multitude fell upon their knees, with their hands and eyes raised towards His Holiness, as to a benign Deity. After a solemn pause he pronounced the benediction with great fervour, elevating his outstretched arms as high as he could, then closing them together and bringing them back to his breast with a slow motion as if he had got hold of the blessing and was drawing it gently from heaven. Finally he threw his arms open, waving them for some time as if his intention had been to scatter the benediction with impartiality among the people.

"No ceremony can be better calculated for striking the senses and imposing on the understanding than this of the Supreme Pontiff giving the blessing from the balcony of St. Peter's. For my own part, if I had not in my early youth received impressions highly unfavourable to the chief actor in this magnificent interlude, I should have been in danger of paying him a degree of respect very inconsistent with the religion in which I was educated." [1]

However much a certain element of emotional excitement may have entered into scenes such as these, it would be very rash to infer that the impression produced was never permanent. The instance of such a man as the poet Petrarch, already referred to, is a striking testimony to the contrary, and in any case amendment of life, even if it be unstable and evanescent, is an object well worth striving for.

Before taking leave of the Jubilee pilgrims and the confraternities to pass to somewhat more general considerations, it may be worth while to say a word

[1] *View of Society and Manners in Italy*, vol. ii. pp. 45–47. Dr. Moore was the son of a Scottish Presbyterian minister, and was the father of the famous General Sir John Moore.

THE PAPAL BLESSING GIVEN URBI AND ORBI FROM THE LOGGIA OF ST PETER'S.

about the costume in which the old prints, from which several of our illustrations are taken, represent the pilgrims as attired. It will be noticed that they are clothed from head to foot in a long tunic or frock almost like the habit of a religious, while at their back hangs an object which, in the rude engravings here reproduced, looks almost like a tassel, but which must in reality be a sort of hood or cowl which could on occasion be drawn over the head. The following remarks of a native Italian, who wrote at the end of the seventeenth century, though referring primarily to the pilgrims at Loreto, are clearly applicable also to those who were received at Rome by the arch-confraternities during the Holy Year :—

" I saw a great number of persons coming into the town. . . . They were all pilgrims that came from Bononia, about three-score in number, all mounted on asses and accoutred in pilgrimage habits. These consist of a large linen gown of an ash-grey colour reaching down to the middle of the leg, with very wide sleeves coming down to the wrist. On the back of these gowns at the collar they have a kind of large cowl which they put over their heads, and being pulled down reacheth to the pit of the stomach, so that their faces are wholly covered with them. And to the end that in this posture they might have free sight and breathing, these cowls have openings in them answering to the eyes and mouth like masks. They never draw these cowls over their heads but when they come to places where they have no mind to be known, for otherwise they let them hang backward on their shoulders. They bind this gown about them with a girdle, and somewhat above the girdle, upon the breast, they have a scutcheon representing the arms of their society, confraternity, or company, which they call in Italian *scuola*. There are scarcely any Italians that do not belong to one or other of these confraternities. The pilgrims, moreover, have

a long string of beads hanging at their girdles and a pilgrim's staff in their hands, which is the chief mark of their pilgrimage. These staves are about half a pike's length, with knots or protuberances at the top and middle of them. They carry them to the church to get them blessed by the parish priests before their setting forth. As soon as they have received them, it is not lawful for them to stay any longer than three days at the place of their residence, and they cannot be admitted to Communion until they have performed their pilgrimage unless it be commuted into a pecuniary mulct." [1]

Although this information comes from rather a tainted source (the author was an apostate who wrote in his exile a book to vilify the Church which he had scandalised and disgraced), it may probably be trusted as a record of customs with which its author was thoroughly familiar, and to which we have frequent allusions in other quarters. This friar-like costume of the confraternities was conspicuous in all processions, but most noticeable of all were the sombre habiliments of the brothers of the *Misericordia*, who performed the pious office of providing for the burial of the dead and who accompanied the body to the grave. Of the *Misericordia* we shall have to speak a little further on.

The great bulk of the Jubilee pilgrims no doubt performed their journey on foot, but even for those who could afford to ride, the undertaking must generally have been penitential enough. Two of our pictures, which have been taken from a collection of engravings by Bertellio, printed in the last decade of the sixteenth century, will serve to give the reader an idea of the appearance of the more wealthy and luxurious class of pilgrims as they travelled to Rome for the Jubilee in winter or summer as the case might

[1] D'Emiliane, *Frauds of the Romish Monks* (English edition), vol. ii. p. 112.

TRAVELLING IN ITALY, SUMMER.
(Bertellio, *c.* 1540.)

To face p. 140.

be. They will also serve to illustrate a note or two which we may borrow from the descriptions of contemporary English travellers. Take, for instance, the following from the famous Tom Coryat :—

After speaking of the prevalence of fans in Italy, which were used habitually by men as well as women, and which might be purchased very cheaply, he adds :—

" Also many of them doe carry other fine things of a far greater price, that will cost at the least a ducket, which they commonly call in the Italian tongue *umbrellaes*, that is things that minister shadow unto them for shelter against the scorching heat of the sunne. These are made of leather, something answerable to the forme of a little cannopy and hooped in the inside with divers little wooden hoopes that extend the umbrella in a pretty large compasse. They are used especially by horsemen, who carry them in their hands when they ride, fastening the ende of the handle upon one of their thighes, and they impart so long a shadowe unto them, that it keepeth the heate of the sunne from the upper parts of their bodies." [1]

In this account Fynes Moryson, another English traveller, who recorded his experiences of Italy at the same epoch, entirely concurs, but he tells us of a danger from the use of these sunshades which we should not otherwise have suspected.

" On the contrary, in hot regions, to avoid the beames of the sunne, in some places (as in Italy) they carry umbrels, or things like a little canopy over their heads, but a learned physician told me that the use of these was dangerous, because they gather the heate into a pyramidall point, and thence cast it down perpendicularly upon the head, except they know how to carry them for avoyding that danger." [2]

[1] Coryat, *Crudities* (originally published in 1611), vol. i. p. 135 (Edin. 1776).

[2] Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1677), part iii. p. 21.

In the winter portrait we may notice particularly the riding boots, about which we read much in all accounts of sixteenth-century travel, and the dispensing with which by St. Aloysius Gonzaga and other holy persons was accounted a great act of mortification.

To return to more important matters than those of costume, the apologists and panegyrists of the papal Jubilees were undoubtedly right in insisting that a pilgrimage to Rome was, ordinarily speaking, a means of moral education for those who undertook it in a spirit of devotion. No one can pretend to deny that abuses must have resulted at times from the gathering together of large bands of men and women, sometimes without adequate accommodation or suitable control. There was also in all probability a certain amount of extravagance or even superstition in these manifestations of popular devotion which cannot be unreservedly commended. None the less, the impression which the pilgrimage left upon the bulk of the pilgrims must have made, on the whole, for edification, and for intellectual as well as moral improvement. During the four centuries with which we are more especially concerned, Italy and, in particular, Rome stood in the van of all civilising influences. In charitable organisations of all kinds, in her guilds and confraternities, in the treatment of the sick and the poor, in clemency towards the accused and towards convicted criminals, in the comparative moderation of her procedure against reputed sorcerers, at a time when northern nations almost without exception were dominated by the most extravagant witch-mania, in matters of cleanliness and politeness, as well as in the encouragement of the arts and sciences, Rome might bear comparison most favourably with any country of Europe, and, most of all, with any Protestant country. As we have already said, it was not without solid foundation that Rome was called *Roma la Santa*.

TRAVELLING IN ITALY, WINTER.
(Bertellio, *c.* 1590.)

To face p. 143.

The traveller, Richard Lassels, who had spent his life in visiting different European nations, not excepting Spain and the remoter parts of Germany, was giving expression to something more than mere partisanship when he wrote :—

" And although Rome were anciently styled the head and mistress of the world, an earthly goddess, the eternal city . . . (while she was yet heathen), yet since her ladyship was baptised and became Christian, though she have had great eulogies made of her by the Holy Fathers, I find no title so honourable to her as that of *Roma la Santa*—Rome the Holy—which is given her by the common proverb, and common proverbs are nothing else but the observation of common sense, for whereas the other cities of Italy are proverbially called either fair, gentile, rich, proud, fatte, or great, as Florence, Naples, Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Milan ; Rome only is styled the holy, and this deservedly for many reasons."

After some justification adduced from past history Mr. Lassels goes on :—

" Besides these aforesaid reasons Rome may deservedly be called the holy for the many and singular acts of charity which are done there daily, more than in any other place. Charity is the queen of virtues ; and if ever I saw this queen on her throne it was in Rome ; for there I saw no evil, either of body or mind, but it had its remedy if curable, or at least its comforts if incurable.

" For the first—to wit, evils of the body—it has its hospitals, and those many, and many of those are hospitals in folio. Besides, no pilgrim comes to Rome but he finds Rome, as Adam did Paradise, with the table covered and the bed made ready for him. Poor young girls find portions either for husbands or nunneries, according to their choice. Infants whom cruel and unlawful mothers, like wolves, expose to death, Rome receives to life, and thinks it but a

suitable *antipelargesis* to nourish wolves' children,[1] seeing a she-wolf nourished her founder being exposed by men. Fools, too, and madmen, so much the more miserable, as not being so much as sensible of their condition (for *sæpe calamitatis solatium est nosse sortem suam*), have here those that take care of them. Poor men find hospitals when they are sick; and gentlemen whom nature hath not exempted from common miseries Rome exempts from common hospitals, and not being able to give them better health, she gives them at least better accommodation in their sickness. Here you shall find an apothecary's shop founded by Cardinal Francis Barberino, with a yearly revenue of twelve thousand crowns, and this for ever, to furnish the poor with physic gratis. . . . Add to this that every nation hath here its several hospital and refuge, with church and churchmen to serve it. As the English College, once an hospital for the English; that of the Anima for the Germans; that of St. Louis for the French; that of St. Jacomo for the Spaniards; that of St. Antony of Padua for the Portuguese; that of St. Julian for the Flemings; that of St. Ambrose for the Lombards; that of St. Ivo for the Bretons; that of St. Jerome for the Illyrians; that of St. Mary of Egypt for the Armenians; that of St. Stephen for the Hungarians; that of St. Stanislaus for the Poles; besides a world of others. Nay, almost every corporation or body of artisans have their hospital among themselves which they maintain. In the Church of the Twelve Apostles they choose yearly twelve noblemen and one prelate who is called their prior; these go into every corner of Rome to seek out poor men who are ashamed to beg and yet are in great want. These bashful poor men put their names into a coffer well locked up and standing in a public place, by which means

[1] "Meretrices *lupas* vocabant, unde *lupanaria*," Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, book xviii. c. 21.

these charitable noblemen find them out and relieve them.

"What shall I say of the public charity of the Pope himself, well known to all; besides a world of private charities which he gives by his *Secreto Limosinero* to those that are ashamed to beg publicly? The like do many cardinals by their own hands; and in that high measure that Cardinal Montalto (to name no more) is found by his book of accounts to have given away above a hundred and seven thousand crowns to the poor.

"As for those charities which concern the mind, if a great king of Egypt wrote over his library door *Medicina Animi* (physic for the mind), here in Rome I find store of such physic in libraries, colleges, monasteries, and devout companies."[1]

After specifying some of the more famous of these libraries and colleges, the writer goes on: "Add to this the variety of monasteries and convents, both of men and women, where they may hide themselves securely *donec transeat iniquitas.* Then the taking away of young girls at ten or twelve years old from their poor suspected mothers, and the bringing them up virtuously under careful matrons of known virtue, till they either choose the nuptial *flammeum* or the sacred *velum.*

"Then the remedies for ill-married women whose unadvised choice (marriages being often made for interest) or incompatible humours force a corporal separation; and lest such unfortunate women should either live incontinently indeed, or give suspicion of it, they are provided here with a house where they live retiredly under lock and key till they either reconcile themselves again to their husbands, or, upon just occasions, leave them for ever. Over the door of this house is written, *Per le donne mal maritate.*"

Then after speaking of the house for penitent

[1] *A Voyage through Italy*, part ii, pp 6, 7.

women, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, whose lives of voluntary penance often equalled in strictness that of the penitents of old, Mr. Lassels continues :—

"What shall I say of the congregation of advocates and attornies instituted in Rome, where they meet once a week to examine poor men's law-suits, and either dehort them from proceeding in bad causes, or prosecute good causes for them at the cost of this congregation ?

"What shall I say of several pious clergymen (especially the good priests of the Oratory, happy in this employment) who make it their task to reconcile disagreeing families, and with great zeal and piety exhort first the one and then the other of the parties, intervene between them, speak well of the one to the other, clear and take away jealous misunderstandings, and, in fine, piece again broken neighbours ? What shall I say of the four sermons daily in the *Chiesa Nuova* by the most learned and good priests of the oratory, who being most of them learned men, as Baronius, Bosius, Justinianus, Renaldus, etc., and able to fly high, yet in their own sermons stoop to a low pitch and a popular facile way which aims rather at conversion than ostentation, and doth great good, though it make little noise, *Dominus in leni aura ?*

"What shall I say of the weekly sermons to the Jews upon Saturday, where they are bound to be present to the number of 800 ; where the Pope entertains a learned preacher to convince them out of their own Scriptures ; and those that are converted are provided for in the Hospital of the Catechumens till they be thoroughly instructed ? I have seen divers of them baptised.

"What shall I say of the *scholæ piæ* in Rome, a company of good religious men who look like Jesuits, save only that they go barefoot in sandals ? These good fathers make a profession to teach poor boys *gratis* their first grammar rudiments, and to make

them fit to be sent to the Jesuits' schools, and having taught them thus in the schools, they accompany them home in the streets, lest they should either learn waggery as they go home or practise it. Nay, these humble men make it their profession not to teach higher schools where there might be some profit and honour, at least some satisfaction and pleasure, but they content themselves to go barefoot and teach only the lower schools and first rudiments, by which they neither grow wiser nor richer. A strange mortified trade, but *Beati pauperes spiritu.*

" What shall I say of the Fathers of the Agonizants, whose vocation is to be the *seconds* of those who fight against death itself; that is, whose profession is to assist those that are in the agony of death, and to help them to make then those pious acts which Christians should most of all then rouse themselves up to?

" What can be said more? Yes, Rome, not content to have fed, to have bred, to have converted, baptised, reconciled the living and assisted the dying, she extends her charity even beyond death itself, and hath instituted a pious confraternity called *La compagnia de' morti*, whose office is to bury the dead and to visit those who are condemned, and by praying with them, exhorting them, and accompanying them to the execution, help them to die penitently, and bury them, being dead, and pray for their souls, being buried; after which charity can do no more to man. And therefore I will conclude that, seeing such singular acts of charity, both for body and mind, are practised nowhere so much as in Rome, it is true, which I assumed above, that Rome deserves to be called the Holy." [1]

This quotation from our seventeenth-century traveller sums up so well the argument which is the subject of the present chapter that it seems unnecessary

[1] *A Voyage through Italy*, pp. 11–13.

to apologise for its length. What remains for us now is to prove by the evidence of other more independent witnesses who were not of the same creed as Mr. Richard Lassels, that his eulogy is not extravagantly overdrawn. And first with regard to the general question of charity and charitable institutions.

Although in our own day a large measure of philanthropy is met with almost universally, and hospitals, orphanages, refuges are to be found all over the earth's surface, it is very important to remember that these works of charity have been of very slow growth in Protestant England. The books of John Howard, published very little more than a century ago, would alone suffice to let us see how wretchedly inadequate was the provision made in his day for the relief of the infirm and destitute of this country. There was hardly a hospital in London which received patients without fees, and the insanitary conditions under which prisoners lived in gaol, the insane in lunatic asylums, and even the sick in the infirmaries, were appalling. No one who has looked into such original authorities as are available will consider the picture of the state of affairs which is given in the fourth and fifth volumes of *Social England* to be at all exaggerated. It falls, to our thinking, short of the facts rather than errs by excess.

"The public assistance of the poorer classes in time of sickness," writes Dr. Creighton, "so conspicuous as it is in modern life, was late in beginning, having made little progress until the great wave of philanthropic sentiment in the second half of the eighteenth century. There were indeed many almshouses, . . . and there were some 'hospitals' in the sense of asylums for the aged and infirm, which had survived the general alienation or decay of mediæval charities. In London the two great monastic foundations of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield and St. Thomas in the Borough had been converted into surgical and

medical infirmaries. The old royal palace of Bridewell adjoining Fleet Street had been used from time to time as a plague hospital, in addition to the two small pest-houses in Finsbury and Westminster. But the design of great hospitals for the sick, which makes one of the most characteristic socialist visions of More's 'Utopia,' had come to little in the London of half a million or more inhabitants; while in Bristol, Newcastle, and other large towns nothing had been done towards it except under the Poor Law." "It is not easy to name any hospitals," says Dr. Creighton further on, "existing at that time (1664) outside London." [1]

With regard to prisons a full century later, in the time of John Howard, Major Arthur Griffiths, an Inspector of Prisons in the twentieth century and one of the highest authorities on the subject, tells us:—

"From one end of the kingdom to the other our prisons were a standing disgrace to civilisation. Imprisonment, from whatever cause it might be imposed, meant consignment to a living tomb, an existence of acute suffering. Gaols were pest-houses; a fell disease peculiar to them, but akin to our modern typhus, was bred within their foul limits, and flourished constantly, often in epidemic form. Pauper prisoners, by far the largest population, were nearly starved, for there was no regular allowance of food; their beds, of old littered straw, reeked with filthy exhalations; if they were ill the doctors feared to approach them; chaplains held aloof, and the dying were left to the ministrations of an occasional self-devoted layman. Worse even than the cruel neglect of the authorities was the active oppression exercised by the stronger over the weaker prisoners; there were gaol customs, such as that of 'garnish' or 'footing,' exacted from the new-comers who were called upon to 'pay or strip.' In default their clothes were torn

[1] *Social England*, edited by H. D. Traill, vol. iv. pp. 589–91.

off their backs, and they were left naked to eke out a wretched existence, forbidden to approach the fire, to lie on the straw, or share in the daily doles of food made by the charitable." [1]

As a mere matter of statistics, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that at the end of the seventeenth century there were more charitable institutions and organisations in the one city of Rome, with a population of under 150,000 souls, than there were, exclusive of almshouses, in the whole of the United Kingdom, with a population of nearly 8,000,000.

In spite of the strong religious prejudice of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, there is no lack of evidence from anti-papistical sources that the contrast between England and Rome in this respect forced itself upon the attention of all honest-minded observers. It is very instructive to note the reproaches which were addressed by Protestants themselves to their fellow-countrymen in Elizabeth's day on the ground of the little charity shown in England to the sick and the poor. " I have heard travellers of credit avouch," writes Thomas Nash, the friend of Marlowe and Greene, " that in London is not given the tenth part of that alms in a week which in the poorest besieged city of France is given in a day. What is our religion ? all avarice and no good works. Because we may not build monasteries, or have Masses, Dirges, or Trentals sung for our souls, are there no deeds of mercy which God hath enjoined us ? " [2]

Again, it is instructive to find an Englishman of Elizabeth's day speaking in such terms as the following. The man was seemingly half a pirate, who had been captured in Italy and was subsequently condemned to the galleys for what he maintains to have been a religious offence. In any case, his narrative of his sufferings was intended to make a direct appeal

[1] *Social England*, vol. v. pp. 483, 484.
[2] Nash, *Christ's Teares*, edition 1613, p. 172.

to the no-popery spirit of his countrymen. It was printed in London in 1592.

"Now, as I have spoken of the two deadly sins (murder, and the toleration of courtesans [1]) wherein they erred, so will I speak of one thing wherein some of them are to be commended, that is this: If there be any Christian, of what nation soever, poor and in distress, making his case known and asking for Christ's sake, he shall be relieved, with all those necessaries whereof he is destitute, as apparel, meat, and drink, and some money, though it be but little; if he is sick, then shall he be put into a hospital, where he shall be choicely attended upon, having good lodging, dainty diet, and comfortable physic for the restoring of his health, whether he be Papist or Protestant; but if he be a Papist he shall be better used, and if he be a Protestant they will use all means they can to convert him, but force him to nothing at all." [2]

Or let us take this description of one of the most famous Roman hospitals in 1644. It occurs in the well-known Diary of John Evelyn, who, needless to say, was no Papist.

"Hence we went to see Dr. Gibbs,[3] a famous poet

[1] No better defence of the attitude of the Roman authorities in this matter could be found than that which is contained in the remarks of the Protestant traveller Keysler (*Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 40 *seq.*, 1756, English translation). His book was regarded at the beginning of the last century as a thoroughly reliable and authoritative work. It was translated from the original German into several foreign languages, and more than one edition appeared in English. Those who know anything of the dramatic and satirical literature of Elizabeth's reign, or who have studied such books as Cordy Jeaffreson's *Middlesex County Records*, will know how little the Englishmen of that day could afford to throw stones at other nations for their toleration of immortality.

[2] W. Davies, *A True Relation, etc.* A copy of this somewhat rare booklet is in the British Museum.

[3] This Dr. Gibbs was a St. Omers boy, the son of a convert. In recognition of his remarkable skill in Latin versification the Emperor presented him with a gold medal and the title of poet laureate. His fame as a physician further obtained for him the honorary degree of M.A. from Oxford University, a unique honour for a

and countryman of ours, who has some intendency in an hospital built on the Via Triumphalis, called Christ's Hospital, which he showed us. The Infirmatory, where the sick lay, was paved with various coloured marbles, and the walls hung with noble pieces. The beds are very fair. In the middle is a stately cupola, under which is an altar decked with divers marble statues, all in sight of the sick, who may both see and hear Mass as they lie in their beds. The organs are very fine, and frequently played on to recreate the people in pain. To this joins an apartment destined for the orphans ; and there is a school ; the children wear blue, like ours in London, at an hospital of the same appellation. Here are forty nurses who give suck to such children who are accidentally found exposed and abandoned. In another quarter are children of bigger growth, 450 in number, who are taught letters. In another 500 girls, under the tuition of divers religious matrons, in a monastery, as it were, by itself. I was assured there were at least 2,000 more maintained in other places. I think one apartment had in it near 1,000 beds. These are in a very long room, having an inner passage for those who attend, with as much care, sweetness, and conveniency as can be imagined, the Italians being generally very neat. Under the portico the sick may walk out and take the air. Opposite to this are other chambers for such as are sick of maladies of a more rare and difficult cure, and they have rooms apart. At the end of the long corridor is an apothecary's shop, fair and very well stored ; near which are chambers for persons of better quality who are yet necessitous. Whatever the poor bring is, at their coming in, delivered to a treasurer, who makes an inventory and is accountable to them, or to their representatives if they die.

Catholic in those days. In his will he bequeathed the Emperor's gold medal to the University of Oxford, where it is still preserved, and a smaller facsimile of it, which he was accustomed to wear around his neck, was left by him to his old College of St. Omers

"To this building joins the house of the commendator, who, with his officers attending the sick, make up ninety persons, besides a convent and an ample church for the friars and priests who daily attend. The church is extremely neat and the sacrestia is very rich. Indeed, it is altogether one of the most pious and worthy foundations I ever saw. Nor is the benefit small which divers young physicians and chirurgeons reap by the experience they learn here amongst the sick, to whom those students have free access." [1]

It would be tedious to quote at length from the multiplied testimonies of travellers to the charity displayed in Rome towards the poor and suffering. Even the scurrilous and filthy little volume, *A Pilgrimage to the Grand Jubilee*, owns grudgingly that "the Romans are very charitable towards the poor," though it at once proceeds to sneer at pecuniary gains the people were supposed to reap from the pilgrims who visited it. Keysler, the famous German traveller, to whom reference has been made in a previous footnote, and who was acquainted with France and England as well as Italy, tells us very honestly that "no country in the world equals Italy in the care of the poor and sick," and he gives a most attractive description of one or two famous hospitals which he had himself visited.[2] With regard to Howard's visits

[1] *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. i. pp. 144, 145.

[2] The account which Keysler gives of the principal hospitals of Paris, which follows immediately on the above passage, is appalling, and the London hospitals were worse: "*La Charité* and *l'Hôtel de Dieu*, at Paris, indeed receive a great number of patients; but nothing of the regularity and cleanliness of the Italian hospitals is to be seen there. Only the lower wards of the *Hôtel de Dieu* have single beds for each patient, and these are but few in number, and are paid for; most of the other beds are for two persons, who also lie one at the head and the other at the feet, and in many of the beds four patients lie in the same manner. In such a situation, it must necessarily fall out that some patients who are on the mending hand may be obliged to lie several hours with others who are in the agonies of death; and it is no very uncommon case for the dead to lie an hour or longer among the living; especially if it happens that the patient dies after ten of the clock at night." (Keysler's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 345.)

to Italy, although it would seem that he or his editors were not willing that he should become too directly the panegyrist of Italian institutions, it is at the same time obvious from incidental remarks that he regarded the state of things in Italy as far superior to the rest of the world. For instance, we find that he gives a very favourable account of the Hôtel Dieu at Lyons as he saw it in 1783. In 1785 he visited the hospital again and was not so well satisfied, whereupon he remarks of his former impression: "Having not then seen the well-regulated hospitals of Italy and Spain, perhaps I was now too much struck with the difference and perhaps also an allowance should be made for my seeing this hospital in the depth of winter." [1] So on going to Italy he remarks: "I entered Italy . . . with raised expectations of considerable information, from a careful attention to the prisons and hospitals in a country abounding with charitable institutions and public edifices." Though he is not satisfied with the condition of the Santo Spirito hospital in Rome, he lets us know that it had 1,103 patients all in separate beds, and there were several other hospitals beside this. At the same period the largest hospital in London, with a population of over 1,000,000, was St. Thomas's, with 440 beds, while St. Bartholomew's had 428. In nearly all the London hospitals entrance fees were charged, amounting to some four shillings for "clean" and twenty-five shillings for "foul" patients.[2]

Howard speaks well of the prison in Rome, and of the galleys for convicts belonging to the States of the Church. He considers that he had never seen any galleys that were better managed than these last, and he remarks further: "In visiting the prisons of Italy I observed that in general great attention was paid to the sick; but I could not avoid remarking that too

[1] Howard, *State of Prisons, etc.*, p. 179.
[2] Howard, *Prisons*, p. 106. *Lazarettos*, pp. 134, 136.

little care was taken to *prevent* sickness. From the heat of the climate one might imagine the gaol fever would be very likely to prevail, but I did not find it in any of the prisons." [1]

There seems to have been an equally general agreement in commending the mercifulness of Roman punishments, as compared with the practice of the rest of Europe, England emphatically not excepted. Montaigne gives an interesting description of the execution of a criminal in Rome at which he was present, and of the assistance in their black hoods of the brethren of the *Misericordia*, including, as he avers, gentlemen of the best families of Rome. The tall crucifix with its black cover, the veiled faces and shadowy forms of the brethren, the two friars on either hand of the criminal holding a picture of our Saviour before his face, never leaving him until the very last moment; the rapid death by hanging; and the demeanour of the crowd, all impressed the cynical old essayist most favourably. He contrasted it with the practice, too often adopted in his own country, of inflicting such terrible torments upon the criminal that the very thought of them beforehand must destroy that composure of mind which seems requisite for a proper preparation for death. He adds that the deterrent effect of extreme severity is sufficiently secured by the outrages inflicted on the dead body. Indeed, as he goes on to remark in his present description:—

"The spectators, who had not evinced the slightest commiseration when the living man was being strangled, broke out into piteous cries and groans at every blow that was given him when they were cutting up his dead body. As soon as the execution was over," he adds, "several Jesuits or other religious climbed into some elevated position at different points, and began

[1] Howard, *Prisons, etc.*, p. 117 n.; cf. *Lazarettos*, p. 58

exhorting the people to profit by the scene which they had witnessed." [1]

Very similar was the impression produced just two centuries later upon the Dr. John Moore whose satirical but good-humoured comments we have previously quoted.

He was present at the execution of a criminal thoroughly feared and detested by the Roman populace, a man who had committed no less than five murders. Notwithstanding this, he found the people reverent and compassionate. He was much impressed by the attendance of the brothers of the *Misericordia*, and he approved the expeditiousness and decorum which marked the infliction of the death penalty. An old woman, he tells us, cried out when all was over, "*Adesso spero che l'anima sua sia in paradiso*" (Now I hope that his soul is in heaven), and the multitude around seemed inclined to hope the same. "The manner in which this man was put to death was, no doubt, uncommonly mild when compared with the atrocity of his guilt; yet I am convinced that the solemn circumstances which accompanied his execution made a greater impression on the minds of the populace, and would as effectually deter them from the crimes for which he was condemned, as if he had been broken alive on the wheel and the execution performed in a less solemn manner."

Full, probably, of the remembrance of the ghastly spectacle of an English execution in the old hanging days, and of the callous indifference of the mob that attended on such occasions, Dr. Moore adds :—

[1] In his *Essays* Montaigne remarks: "All that exceeds a simple death appears to me pure cruelty. Our law cannot expect that he whom the fear of being executed by being beheaded or hanged will not restrain, should be any more awed by the imagination of a slow fire, burning pincers, or the wheel. And I know not in the meantime whether we do not throw them into despair; for in what condition can the soul of a man be who expects for four-and-twenty hours together to be broken on the wheel, or after the old way, to be nailed to a cross?" (Vol. ii. p. 27; cf. vol. ii. p. 11).

"The procession described above, I plainly perceived, made a very deep impression. I thought I saw more people affected by it than I have formerly observed among a much greater crowd, who were gathered to see a dozen or fourteen of their fellow-creatures dragged to the same death for housebreaking or highway robbery, mere venial offences in comparison of what this Italian had perpetrated. The attendance of the Capuchins, the crucifixes, the society of the *Misericordia*, the ceremony of confession—all have a tendency to strike the mind with awe and keep up the belief in a future state; and when the multitude beheld so many people employed and so much pains taken to save the soul of one of the most worthless of mankind, they must think that the saving of a soul is a matter of great importance, and therefore naturally infer that the sooner they begin to take care of their own the better." [1]

Neither was the treatment of criminals the only matter in which the moderation of the Romans was displayed. Keysler remarks that a much greater tolerance was shown to Protestants in Rome than in the cities of France. In Rome, for instance, such non-Catholics were permitted to remain standing during the Elevation, whereas in France all who were present of whatsoever creed they might be were compelled to kneel. And this candid Protestant continues:—

"Travellers who have the least taste for arts and sciences meet with so many things in Rome to attract their curiosity that they may pass their time away without having recourse to frivolous diversions, debaucheries, or idle company. The variety of objects daily to be seen here afford sufficient topics for conversation in coffee-houses and public places, so that ribaldry and *double entendres*, which are perhaps to young people more prejudicial than gross obscenity, do not so frequently offend the ear as in France."

[1] Vol. i. p. 486.

After commenting severely on the libertinism of the French capital, Keysler remarks: "I can with great truth affirm that the general conversation at Rome is less offensive and more instructive than in most other great cities"; and again, farther on: "I have often thought that the popish religion, by affecting such pomp and splendour in churches and convents, especially in Italy, greatly contributes to the improvement of painting, sculpture, and architecture." [1]

The same traveller gives the following attractive description of the work of the Oratorians at Genoa. Though he specifies Genoa, the same methods of attracting, refining, and supernaturalising were employed elsewhere.

"In the church of St. Philip Neri, belonging to the fathers of the Oratory, is some fine painting in fresco, by Franceschino di Bologna, with other pictures by Biola. Here are, besides, some admirable marble sculptures, and the church is lined in many places with *Brocatello di Spagna*, a beautiful kind of marble. Every Sunday evening during the winter an oratorio or religious opera is performed in this church, which is founded on some scripture history, and is succeeded by a sermon of near half an hour long, then the service concludes with a piece of church music. As the design of this is to keep people from ill company, and at the same time to incite them by the most animated exhortations to sanctity of life, no great objection, I think, can lie against it; but the summer diversion, though with the like view, cannot be looked upon with equal indulgence. Near Prince Doria's palace, without St. Thomas's Gate, these fathers have a garden, with a beautiful edifice in it, where every Sunday, in the afternoon, they permit several kinds of games, as draughts, chess, billiards; dice and cards indeed are excepted. It is true they do not play here for money but for *Ave Marias*, *Paternosters*, and other prayers;

[1] Keysler, vol. ii. p. 212, English translation, 1757.

and at the breaking up of a party the losers kneel before an image of the Virgin Mary and there, according to their losing, discharge them to her, or to God, by *Paternosters*, etc. In the evening they leave off playing and an oratorio is performed ; next comes a spiritual exhortation ; and at length this medley of levity and religion closes with a solemn piece of music. The intent, indeed, is far from culpable, being to divert the commonalty from riotous meetings, and an excessive fondness for gaming is gratified without prejudice to their substance and families ; but how this abuse of God's name in these lost prayers can be justified, or such babbling, to which many have but little inclination, can be termed lawful or edifying, is a mystery to me. I asked our guide, ' What course was taken when they played so deep, or the loss was so great, that the conquered party could not go through with the multitude of prayers he had lost ? ' He answered ' that this could seldom or never happen, the fathers not allowing of any great ventures, so that most of them play only for trifles, such as repeating a few rosaries, prayers, etc.' " [1]

It may appear strange to us at the present day that the northern countries of Europe should look to Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not only for a code of manners, but even for an example of cleanliness, but yet this undoubtedly was the case. It would seem that almost all those little contrivances at table which assist cleanliness and comfort are of Italian origin. Sir Fynes Moryson remarks, in evident surprise, that the southern nations are " curious " [2] in keeping their churches " in which it were no small trespass so much as to spit." [3] He tells us more than once that the Italians " eat neatly and modestly," showing a singular refinement in the ordering of their

[1] Keysler, vol. ii. pp. 385, 386, English translation, 1725.
[2] *I.e.* careful, particular.
[3] *Itinerary*, part iii. p. 44.

tables,[1] or, as he explains rather more fully in the following passage :—

" In generall the Italians, and more especially the Florentines, are most neate at the Table, and in their Innes from morning to night the Tables are spread with white cloathes, strewed with flowers and figge leaves, with Ingestars or glasses of divers coloured wines set upon them, and delicate fruits which would invite a man to eat and drink, who otherwise hath no appetite, being all open to the sight of passengers as they ride by the highway, through their great unglased windows. At the Table they touch no meate with the hand, but with a forke of silver or other mettall, each man being served with his forke and spoone and glasse to drinke. And as they serve small pieces of flesh (not whole joints as with us), so these pieces are cut into small bits, to be taken up with the forke, and they seeth the flesh till it be very tender. In summer time they set a broad earthen vessel full of water upon the Table, wherein little glasses filled with wine doe swimme for coolenesse." [2]

The following passage is even more significant in its implication of what contemporary English manners must have been :—

" I observed a custome in all those Italian cities and townes through the which I passed that is not used in any other country that I saw in my travels, neither doe I thinke that any other nation of Christendome doth use it but only Italy. The Italian, and also most strangers that are commorant in Italy, doe alwaies at their meales use a little forke when they cut their meate. For while with their knife, which they hold in one hand, they cut the meate out of the dish, they fasten their forke, which they hold in their other hand, upon the same dish, so that whatsoever he be that sitting in the company of any others at meale should unadvisedly touch the dish of meate

[1] *Itinerary*, part iii. p. 113. [2] *Ibid.*, part iii. p. 115.

with his fingers from which all the table doe cut, he will give occasion of offence unto the company, as having transgressed the laws of good manners, in so much that for his error he shall be at the least browbeaten, if not reprehended in wordes. This forme of feeding, I understand, is generally used in all places of Italy, their forkes being for the most part made of yron or steele, and some of silver, but those are used only by Gentlemen. The reason of this curiosity is because the Italian cannot by any means indure to have his dish touched with fingers, seeing all men's fingers are not alike cleane. Hereupon I myself thought good to imitate the Italian fashion by this forked cutting of meate, not only while I was in Italy, but also in Germany, and oftentimes in England since I came home. Being once quipped for that frequent using of my forke by a certain learned Gentleman, a familiar friend of mine, one Mr. Laurence Whitaker, who in his merry humour doubted not to call me at table *furcifer* [*i.e.* fork-bearer; but *furcifer* also means felon], only for using a fork at feeding but for no other cause." [1]

Without wishing to lay undue stress upon the principle that cleanliness is next to godliness, it seems not altogether out of place to call attention even to such minor matters. They all serve in their measure to show that in inviting the Christians of other countries to visit the shrines of the Apostles in the Mother City of western Christendom, the Popes were really doing a service to the cause of civilisation. Whatever may be the case in our own day, it is a curious fact that during just that period when the Jubilee pilgrimages were most frequented, Italy, and more especially Rome, set the example to the world in matters of piety, education, and refinement.

As for the piety, we can only say that a perusal of the various narratives of travellers writing from different

[1] T. Coryat's *Crudities*, vol. i. pp. 106, 107 (1611).

points of view leaves upon the mind a very profound impression of the religious atmosphere which pervaded the whole country. It may, conceivably, have been a religion of externals, it may have been mingled with a good deal of crime, or of licentiousness, or of superstition. With that we are not for the moment concerned. But their religion, such as it was, was an intimate part of the life of the people, and it cannot be said that its observances sat upon them lightly. Let us note, for instance, the attention paid to the daily hearing of Mass, and the practice of fasting. Sir Fynes Moryson, an English Protestant, writing at the end of the sixteenth century, may speak for both these points, and Montaigne's narrative also bears witness to his own personal observance in these matters, courtier and man of fashion as he was. Now by Moryson we find it fully recognised that if a traveller in Italy sojourning at an inn is to avoid suspicion, it is necessary for him daily to go out of his chamber in a morning as if he went to Mass; "for the Italians generally think they are not safe till in the morning they have worshipped the *Hostia* at the Elevation thereof." [1] So too he writes of Loreto :—

"Myself and my consorts were all this day fasting, for it had been an unpardonable sin to have demanded meat in our inn before we had been in the church, and would have given open occasion to suspect our religion." [2]

Moryson complains that during the whole of Lent he had to abstain from meat, which could not have been procured even if he had been willing to risk the suspicion which its purchase would have excited. Montaigne appears to have heard Mass daily, and during Lent not merely to have observed the abstinence, but to have attended the Stations in the different Roman churches. Moreover, although he seems to believe that the upper classes among his own country-

[1] Moryson, *Itinerary*, part iii. pp. 31, 32.
[2] *Ibid.*, l.c. part i. p. 100.

POPE INNOCENT X VISITING THE FOUR BASILICAS IN THE JUBILEE YEAR OF 1650

THE POPE CLOSING THE HOLY DOOR AT THE END OF THE YEAR OF JUBILEE.

To face p. 162.

men were really more sincere in their religion than the Italians, he was struck with the number of devotions and confraternities with which Rome abounded, and with the great external manifestations of piety of which they were the occasion. He speaks of them as carrying their observance of the forms of religion even to extravagance.[1] Coryat seems to have been not less impressed by some of the practices he witnessed; as, for instance, the *Ave Maria* or *Angelus*, still familiar as a note of time in the mouths of residents in Italy. He says:—

"Also there is another very superstitious custom, used not only in Venice, but also in all cities, towns, and parishes whatsoever of all Italy, in which they differ, as I think, from all Christian nations, that at noon and the setting of the sun, all men, women, and children must kneel and say their *Ave Maria* bareheaded, wheresoever they are, either in their houses or in the streets, when the *Ave Maria* bell ringeth."[2]

Coryat adds that Josias Simler wrote a learned dialogue upon the question "whether it were lawful to pray bareheaded either at noon, or the evening, at the ringing of this *Ave Maria* bell," pronouncing it to be foolish and superstitious, a judgment in which Coryat himself concurs.

To some extent this piety of Rome is a matter of statistics. The strictness with which the Paschal and Lenten observances were maintained was due largely to the energy of the priests and the action of the Government. Moryson records that he was visited by the local clergy in his lodgings, "who took our names in writing, to the end, as they told us, that we might receive the Sacrament with our host's family." And the results of these official visitations were embodied in an elaborate document which gave returns of the total population, the number of Easter

[1] Montaigne, *Voyage* (ed. d'Ancona), p. 264.
[2] Coryat, *Crudities*, vol. ii. p. 28.

Communions, the number of children who had not yet been admitted to their First Communion, the number of courtesans, etc. The tables drawn up from this ecclesiastical census in Rome for more than a hundred years were published some time ago, and it is almost startling to find that for nearly the whole of this period, out of all the thousands who were bound to fulfil the Paschal obligation, the number of defaulters amounted to hardly one or two per cent.

It may be interesting to set down here a few of these tables as specimens.[1]

The tables pretty well explain themselves, although the connection of the fluctuations in the numbers with political events might afford matter for a whole article. In the paper from which these are copied they are given for every year from 1600 to 1739, but we have only been able to find room for a few specimens, taking for the purpose some Jubilee years, together with one average ordinary year, 1674, for purposes of comparison. Of course, in these statistics only the *permanent* population of Rome is dealt with, not the pilgrims, but in the Jubilee years even the permanent population was increased by a few thousands. The enumeration of *Concubinari* is found only in the early lists, that of the *Mori*, *Pinzoche* (women belonging to different third orders who did not live in community), and of births and deaths, was introduced later. The year 1739 alone contains a note of the number of heretics (85). Jews, whom Labat estimates at the beginning of the eighteenth century at some ten or twelve thousand, are not included in any way in the census. So that the total population of Rome was some thousands in excess of the numbers here set down. The preponderance of males, due, of course, largely to the clerical element in Rome, is very striking. It would

[1] From *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, Anno xii. 1891, Fasc. 2; *Censimento della popolazione di Roma dall'anno* 1600 *al* 1739. F. Cerasoli, pp. 169–201.

	1600.	1650.	1674.	1675.	1700.	1725.
Parish churches	97	85	82	82	81	86
Households	20,019	30,429	27,995	29,712	30,782	30,469
Bishops	68	50	60	69	102	83
Priests	1,401	2,206	2,623	2,950	3,016	3,064
Monks and friars	2,148	3,355	3,342	4,074	3,790	3,871
Nuns	2,372	2,796	2,297	2,307	1,910	2,084
Students	1,222	767	1,104	1,131	1,495	1,857
Retinue of cardinals	5,297	3,542	3,232	3,312	1,751	1,959
Poor in homes	1,798	1,068	1,301	1,629	3,216	932
Prisoners in gaol	256	542	242	249	277	144
Males of all ages	63,133	73,978	73,843	79,786	78,929	85,622
Females of all ages	46,596	52,214	48,883	52,126	60,518	62,523
Fit for Communion	91,452	95,003	93,373	100,721	111,894	116,927
Not fit	18,277	31,189	29,335	31,141	37,491	31,218
Communicated	91,193	93,805	92,421	99,511	111,451	116,692
Not Communicated	269	49	455	368	—	145
Courtesans	604	1,148	927	889	497	179
Concubinari	43	32	—	—	—	—
Moors (Mori)	—	13	13	21	14	16
Pinzoche	—	63	63	87	85	119
Births	—	—	—	—	—	4,521
Deaths	—	—	—	—	—	6,015
Heretics	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total population	109,729	126,192	122,726	131,912	149,447	148,155

seem that the figures in the document from which these tables have been taken (a MS. which formerly belonged to the Roman College) have not been copied very accurately. The Dominican traveller Father Labat, in his *Voyage en Espagne et en Italie dans les années 1705 et 1707*, vol. iii, gives the census of a single year, which in one or two items does not entirely accord with the figures found in this table. Moreover, it may be noticed that while in some cases, e.g. the year 1650, the number given of those who ought to have communicated (95,003) is more than a thousand in excess of the number of actual communicants (93,805), the number registered as non-communicants is only forty-nine. Probably the number of non-communicants was arrived at sometimes by a rather careless enumeration (no parish priest would have an interest in making very accurate returns of the non-communicants in his district), sometimes by subtracting the total of Paschal Communions from the numbers of those who were fit (*atti*) to receive. What was meant by this heading, "fit to receive," may be gathered from some interesting remarks of Father Labat:—

"Every parish priest is careful to visit all the houses in his parish at the beginning of Lent. He makes an exact enumeration of them in order to know how many communicants there are, and how many who are not in a fit state to approach the sacraments, such as children and women of bad life. The former are excluded by defect of age, the others because they are unworthy.

"Those who have been to Communion receive a little printed ticket to attest the fact that they have satisfied their Paschal obligation for such and such a particular year. After the fortnight of Easter the priests go to the different houses to take up these tickets, and comparing them with their own lists, they satisfy themselves as to who have received Communion and who have not. As they cannot be imposed upon

in the matter, they endeavour to bring defaulters back to their duty by earnest exhortations.

"At the same time, it must not be said that any compulsion is used. The consequences of an unworthy Communion are far too keenly felt for that. All that they insist upon is that the sinner should present himself at the sacred tribunal, and should fulfil the penance which his parish priest may think it advisable to impose upon him. This is a most just arrangement, and it were greatly to be desired that the same custom might be introduced everywhere."

Besides the pious practices, the devotional enthusiasm, the singular examples of charity, and the many other educative influences with which men became acquainted through their pilgrimage to Rome, the Jubilee would seem to have brought at least occasionally two other benefits in its train. In the first place, it was a force making for the peace of Christendom, and secondly, it lent a great stimulus to works of public utility—the erection of hospitals and hospices, the repair of bridges and roads, and the restoration of the ecclesiastical monuments of Rome itself. Upon both these heads a few words may here be said.

That the Jubilee afforded some check to the quarrels of Christian nations and commonwealths seems too obvious a fact to need much insisting on. It is possible that this restraining influence did not go very far, but the gathering of large bodies of men, unarmed and in pilgrims' garb, with princes and bishops and nobles at their head, was certainly calculated to promote the peace of Europe, and does not seem ever to have been the cause of international complications.

To put it upon no higher ground, it gave a very large number of people an interest in the maintenance of public tranquillity, and that in an age when the chances of sudden war were far greater than they are in our own. Even at the present day such another world's fair in the heart of Europe as the Paris Exhibi-

tion of 1900 is distinctly a guarantee for the influence of at least one powerful nation being used for a while in the cause of peace.

Obviously the power most interested in preserving order was the papacy; and we are not surprised to find that, in spite of many rebuffs and very indifferent success, the Popes made persistent efforts to secure peace and safe-conduct for those who visited Rome in the Jubilee years. Let us take, for instance, that of Clement VI in 1350. This occurred midway between the battles of Crecy and Poitiers, and was almost the central point of the great struggle between England and France, which marked the reign of Edward III. On the 21st of November, 1349, we find the Pope writing to the King of England "entreating him to consider the motives which make for peace, and how the absence of it hinders many from gaining the indulgences of the Jubilee by visiting the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul and St. John Lateran." [1] Then, under date of 8th of December, we find his instructions to the two papal nuntios bidding them to visit certain influential statesmen and to urge the same argument. Similarly we have letters in the same sense despatched to Henry, Earl of Lancaster, Sir Walter Manny, Count Gaston de Foix, and a dozen other prominent men, both on the English and French side, asking them to give a favourable hearing to the papal nuntios. There are, of course, similar letters to the king of France, and it is noteworthy that the Pope requires, even of this illustrious personage, a personal visit to the shrine of the Apostles if he wished to gain the indulgences of the Jubilee. This fact is the more remarkable in that the Pope was then and had long been domiciled at Avignon, so that it is difficult to see that he had any immediate personal interest in enforcing such a condition. Although the negotiations

[1] See Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Documents Relating to England*, vol. iii. pp. 42–45.

for the peace proceeded very slowly, and the treaty was not actually signed until 1351, the Pope was nevertheless so far successful in his appeals as to secure the maintenance of an armistice during all the Holy Year. How persistent were his efforts in the cause can only be appreciated by those who have studied the papal documents for that year calendared by Mr. Bliss.

The incident does not stand alone. In almost every succeeding Jubilee the correspondence of the Popes reveals that an earnest attempt was made to win over the sovereign princes of Europe to the cause of peace.

With regard to the second indirect result of which we have just spoken, viz., the furtherance of works of public utility in the repairing of roads, the restoration of churches, the building of hospices, and the like, something has incidentally been said in the account already given of the individual Jubilees. Even in such evil times as those of Alexander VI we read that in view of the Holy Year he set on foot public works on a large scale. "As early as November 26, 1498, he directed Cardinal Riario to examine into the possibilities of widening the thoroughfares and securing the bridges; and in 1499 he gave orders for the construction of the road called the *Via Alessandrina* or the *Borgo Nuovo* which leads from the castle of Sant Angelo to the basilica of St. Peter." [1]

It was, of course, the city of Rome itself which profited chiefly by such activity, but it is interesting to note that the benefit by no means stopped there, but that it extended to other Italian towns, sometimes at a considerable distance. The following passage from an important monograph on the charitable institutions of Viterbo must serve as a sufficient vindication of this point:—

"But if leprosy had been the cause of the increase in the number of hospitals, another institution of the

[1] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes, Alexandre VI*, p. 185.

Church, the Jubilee, shortly afterwards made them multiply in Italy in the most marvellous way.

" The scattered hospices attached to the monasteries, for the most part situated in solitary and inaccessible places, were not sufficient to lodge and feed the great crowds of indigent people set in movement by these pilgrimages. It was necessary to build new refuges, both within and without the cities, and indeed to provide some kind of lodging in almost every village.

" Private charity appeared disguised in many various forms. The natives of the same province, and, above all, the foreigners scattered throughout Italy, grouped themselves together, formed associations and religious sodalities, and erected hospices for their compatriots or fellow-townsmen. Rome naturally set the example. Hospices arose for Lombards, for Genoese, for Florentines, for the inhabitants of Bergamo, and also for Germans, English, Scotch, Hungarians, French, Bohemians, and Armenians. And since these few remarks are to lead us to the history of Viterbo, we shall see that here also were founded, primarily through the exertions of native-born philanthropists, hospitals for Latins, English, Germans, and even for Armenians. Thus throughout Italy, and more particularly in the provinces nearest Rome, a vast network of hospices extended, which, as long as the period of pilgrimages continued, had a more or less prosperous existence." [1]

Finally, it may be stated here as the outcome of a not inconsiderable amount of attention paid to the history of the years of Jubilee in their many different aspects, that there is singularly little in the way of evidence to justify the imputation of mercenary motives so commonly made in this connection, both against the Popes and the people of Rome. Speaking, as we are doing, of the *ordinary* Jubilees recurring at stated intervals, there is hardly one of them, if we may

[1] Pinzi, *Gli Ospizi Medievali e l'Ospedal-Grande di Viterbo*, 1893, pp. 13–15.

except the two doubtful celebrations of Boniface IX,[1] in which a colourable pretext can be found for taxing the Popes with selling their spiritual favours for money. We have the fullest information as to the first institution of the great indulgence under Boniface VIII. It is certain that it was wholly unpremeditated, and, as explained in the first chapter of this work, if any motive is to be sought for the Pope's action besides a spiritual one, it is to be found rather in the political circumstances of the times than in any hope of pecuniary profit. The alms given were purely voluntary; they formed no part of the conditions of the Jubilee; and there is not the slightest suggestion of the duty of almsgiving either in the papal Bull of Boniface VIII or in the semi-official exposition of that Bull which was drawn up by an official of the papal Chancery, Sylvester, "scriptor Domini Papæ," or in the works of the two cardinals, Joannes Monachus and Gaetano Stefaneschi, who wrote upon the subject.

Certainly a not inconsiderable sum was actually offered at the shrines of the Apostles, but it seems to have been made up of the offerings of the poor in the smallest copper coinage, and it is distinctly stated that no part of the proceeds found its way into the papal treasury. It was spent, as it was intended to be spent, upon the fabric of the basilicas, and upon those who served them. During the second Jubilee, that of Clement VI, the Pope was in Avignon. There is nothing whatever to suggest that he derived pecuniary benefit from it. Nicholas V realised a moderately large sum[2] from the Jubilee. It was spent upon what the whole world is agreed in praising as a most worthy and magnificent scheme for the cultivation of

[1] Of these two Jubilees—the very existence of the second is problematical—we know next to nothing. They occurred during the Great Schism, when all things were in disorder.

[2] The sum was not inordinately great. In 1400 the amount of the offering at St. Paul's Church was estimated at 60,000 ducats. Rucellai says it was much less in 1450!

the arts and the restoration of the city. But in none of these ordinary Jubilees which required a pilgrimage to Rome was any offering or alms imposed as a condition of gaining the indulgence. What was given was given quite freely out of pure devotion, and even in the extension of the Jubilee to other countries after the year itself had expired, *e.g.* that of 1501, in which a certain offering of money was prescribed in lieu of the pilgrimage, it was expressly provided that no fixed contribution should be asked from those whose incomes were less than £20 a year, representing at least £300 a year of our money. In other words, the poor and labouring classes were left free "to pay for self, wife, and children as it shall please them of their devotion." When we learn that even those whose incomes were above £20 were asked to offer no more than 12 pence for self, wife, and children, *i.e.* one four-hundredth part of that income, it must be clear that no extravagant attempt was made to impoverish the people. As for the last twelve of the twenty ordinary Jubilees recorded in history, it seems to be confessed on all hands that the expenditure of the Holy See far exceeded any possible receipts. Take, for instance, the following passage from so unfriendly a witness as Dr. H. C. Lea :—

"It is scarce worth while to follow in detail the subsequent Jubilees of 1625, 1650, 1675, 1700, 1725, 1750, and 1775, which could teach us nothing except that, in their greater or less success, there was a gradual falling-off in numbers and zeal.[1] There was likewise a great reduction in the oblations of the pilgrims, and we may well believe Zaccaria's assertion that the proceeds were much less than the expenses. Every effort was made to lighten the burden of the pilgrims by offering them gratuitous shelter and food, no small share of which was necessarily contributed by the

[1] This statement, which is wholly unsupported by evidence, will be referred to again in the next chapter, p. 194.

Pope and the cardinals. In 1600 Clement VIII thus gave 300,000 scudi; in 1650 Innocent X took off six giulj per measure of the tax on corn. Since the sixteenth century we may fairly assume that every Jubilee has been a not inconsiderable burden on the Holy See. A not unnatural concomitant of this was an increased development of the spiritual features of the solemnity, which finds apt expression in the exhortation to repentance by Clement XIV in 1774.[1]

Not less explicit is the testimony of the Scotch Presbyterian, Dr. Moore, after his visit to the Jubilee of 1775:—

"It is not likely that any future Pope will think of shortening this period; if any alteration were again to take place, it most probably would be to restore the ancient period of fifty or a hundred years; for instead of the wealthy pilgrims who flocked to Rome from every quarter of Christendom, ninety-nine in a hundred of those who come now are supported by alms during their journey or are barely able to defray their own expenses by the strictest economy; and His Holiness is supposed at present to derive no other advantage from the uncommon fatigue he is obliged to go through in the Jubilee year, except the satisfaction he feels in reflecting on the benefit his labours confer on the souls of the beggars and other travellers who resort from all corners of Italy to Rome on this blessed occasion. The States which border on the Pope's dominions suffer many temporal inconveniences from the zeal of the peasants and manufacturers, the greater part of whom still make a point of visiting St. Peter's in the Jubilee year."

[1] Lea, *History of Confession, etc.*, vol. iii. p. 217.

CHAPTER VII

THE JUBILEE OF LATER TIMES

With the Holy Year of Clement VII in 1525 we may consider that the history of the Jubilee entered upon a new phase. Luther had delivered his first attack upon the indulgence system and its abuses in the autumn of 1517, and the sensation resulting therefrom was prodigious. Long before this many of the more earnest and religious minded of the prelates at the Roman Court had shown their disapproval of the way in which indulgences were turned to profit for dubiously spiritual ends. Backed by the criticism of the Reformers, and by the defection from the Holy See of so large a part of Germany, their arguments at last began to have weight ; and although another Jubilee was still to pass before the Council of Trent would denounce, in its twenty-fifth session, those "evil gains for the obtaining of indulgences whence a most prolific cause of abuses amongst Christians has been derived," the Papal Court began to show signs of much greater vigilance in cutting off the avenues of any unworthy greed of money. It must not be supposed that no vigorous action had been taken in reforming abuses of this nature before the sixteenth century. The fourth council of Lateran and the decree of Clement IV, included in the *Corpus Juris*, not to speak of numberless provincial synods,[1] had condemned the dishonest proceedings of the pardoners in terms which left

[1] A useful list of such conciliar decrees is given in Lea, *History of Confession and Indulgences*, vol. iii. p. 287. It does not, however, pretend to be exhaustive.

nothing to be desired, while there never had been any lack of conscientious prelates and earnest preachers who had used the opportunities afforded them by the various Jubilees and great indulgences simply, as they were intended to be used, to foster devotion and to draw sinners to repentance and amendment of life.

No one who reads the account of Cardinal Nicholas de Cusa's labours, already referred to, could hesitate for a moment to believe that the Jubilee indulgence, which he as Papal Legate was commissioned to administer, was a real source of moral reformation in Germany. Moreover, as long as we confine ourselves strictly to the ordinary papal Jubilees there is very little evidence that any great abuses had crept in, even when things were at their worst. It is true that when the Jubilee of 1500 was extended to the world at large, the alms which were offered by the faithful in compliance with the conditions prescribed seem in comparatively few cases to have found their way ultimately to their legitimate destination, i.e. the war-fund for hostilities against the Turks. The temporal princes in whose dominions the indulgence was preached secured for themselves a large commission out of the proceeds even when, as happened in more than one case, they did not appropriate the whole. Worst of all, Cæsar Borgia, the son of the Pope, seems to have taken forcible possession of all the Jubilee alms he could lay hands on, and to have squandered them amongst the soldiers who fought in his campaigns.[1] But even at this date there can be no question about the great moral renovation which resulted from the labours of Cardinal Peraudi, the commissary for the Jubilee in Germany.[2] Of the earlier Crusade indulgence of 1490 Peraudi, whose conscientiousness and moral integrity are not disputed, himself declares that "hundreds of thousands of souls in Germany, which were previously in imminent danger of eternal ruin, have been brought

[1] Pastor *Geschichte*, third edition, vol. iii. p. 513. [2] *Ibid.*, note 4.

back into the way of salvation, as those commissaries, preachers, and confessors very well know who have been concerned in this undertaking."

Johann von Paltz, the author of the *Celifodina*, who was also one of the preachers, states that many more and greater sinners have been converted at the time of the indulgence than had been known for many years before. "At ordinary seasons men will not come to sermons, but the fame of the indulgence attracts them, and an earnest preacher can do more good in a short time than otherwise he would do in the space of twenty years." And this is not intrinsically improbable, for Raymund, the Papal Legate, had, as Paltz tells us, taken great pains to gather round him the most learned, the most famous, and the most devout preachers in the whole country. So again, the Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Hessen, writing to the Chapter of Utrecht in 1503, expressed his belief that "many thousands of souls had been saved by the late Jubilee." [1]

But with all this we need not be afraid of confessing that there was something which rather shocked the better feeling of Catholics in the system of offerings and fees and compositions, according to a regular tariff, with which even the Jubilee indulgence had by degrees become identified. It is a relief to be able to record that with the Holy Year of Clement VII all practices which could suggest any suspicion of interested motives in the concession of indulgences by the Head of the Church were finally put a stop to. It is true that the giving of alms is still commonly enjoined among the conditions of a Jubilee indulgence,[2] but

[1] See the article "Johann von Paltz über Ablass und Reue," by Dr. N. Paulus, in the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1899, p. 59.

[2] This is true primarily of the "extraordinary" Jubilees, in which the indulgence can be gained without a journey to Rome. In the case of the ordinary Jubilees the labour involved in visiting the churches is accounted a sufficient motive in itself for granting the indulgence.

"GANYMEDE" MEDAL OF PAUL III.

JUBILEE MEDAL OF BENEDICT XIII, COMMEMORATING THE ERECTION OF THE STATUE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

JUBILEE MEDAL OF LEO XII, 1825.

THE POPE ENTERING THE HOLY DOOR.

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neither the amount nor the object are specified, and the treasury of the Holy See is not usually benefited in any way by the liberality of the faithful.

The conditions under which the Jubilee of 1525 was celebrated were decidedly unfavourable. There was pestilence at home, and war was raging almost everywhere abroad. Nevertheless, Clement VII did all in his power to draw pilgrims to Rome. He had been elected Pope on 19th November, 1523, after the short Pontificate of Adrian VI, but he deferred the ceremony of the " taking possession " (*i.e.* of the Lateran basilica) until this year, when it was carried out with great pomp towards the end of April. On the 1st May, after the Pontifical Mass in the same basilica, the Pope made public proclamation of the league formed against the Turks between Charles V (King of Spain), the King of England (Henry VIII), and Mantua, granting the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee to those present, and giving the Papal Benediction, as it was usually given from the *loggia* of the Vatican on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul.

The scorn of the Reformers at the proclamation of the Jubilee of 1525 found vent in a set of satirical verses, more than once reprinted in Germany. A copy of this curious little book is in the British Museum Library. The first stanza, which practically serves the purpose of a title-page, may be thus translated without grave injustice to the original :—

OF THE JUBILEE YEAR

This booklet tells, 'tis plain to see
How men keep twofold Jubilee ;
The one is that of Christ our Lord,
The other what the Popes accord.
Who wisely reads this book at home,
Will not for pardon run to Rome.

The distinction between Christ's Jubilee and the Pope's Jubilee emphasised by the writer is that the

Pope's Jubilee is costly and can only be gained at Rome; Christ's Jubilee is given everywhere gratis to every one who repents.

In Jhesu Christi Jubel Jar
Der sünder würt verzygen gar,
Er sey gleich wo er sey uff erden
Darff nit zü Rom ein bilger werden.

While Clement VII's Jubilee medals are not specially remarkable, he was, as we learn from Benvenuto Cellini, greatly interested in the art of die-sinking. This taste was shared by his successor, Paul III (Farnese), and in preparation for the Jubilee which he hoped to celebrate in 1550 the latter Pontiff caused a number of admirable medals to be struck. Amongst others, the beautiful "Ganymede" medal, already referred to. Death, however, intervened to prevent his presiding at the opening of the *Porta Santa*, and some of the dies were used for the medals of his successor.

In the *Anno Santo* of 1550 the Arch-Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, founded by St. Philip Neri some sixteen months previously, undertook the pious work of caring for and sheltering the poorer pilgrims. The number thus helped was very large, but it bore no proportion to the multitudes which, in ages to come, were to benefit by this charitable institution.

Under Gregory XIII, in preparation for the celebration of 1575, the practice was first introduced of proclaiming the Jubilee on the Ascension Day of the previous year. For the ceremony then observed, which lasted down to the time of Pius VI, it will be sufficient to quote a description of the scene translated into English in the middle of the seventeenth century :—

"At the approach of the Jubilee the Popes of Rome cause the bill of Jubilee to be published with a great deal of pomp and magnificence. This ceremony is always performed on Ascension Day in the great portal

OPENING OF THE JUBILEE OF 1575 BY POPE GREGORY XIII.
Scene in the atrium of St. Peter's.

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of St. Peter's Church in the Vatican, where for this purpose are placed two rich chairs, from whence the ministers chosen by His Holiness read, with a very loud and distinct voice, the Brief or Bull of the Jubilee in Italian. After this publication four several copies of the said Bull are affixed to the east, south, west, and north corners of the city of Rome, as it was practised in Pope Urban VIII's time, who, in the year 1624, upon Ascension Day, which then fell upon the 16th of May, appeared in person in the Church of St. Peter's and commanded Signor Don Austin Durando to read the before-mentioned Brief in presence of some of the clerks of the Apostolic Chamber, and some other officers. The Sunday next following, the said Bull was likewise published in the same manner in the other churches, where, according to ancient custom, they are used to open the Holy Gate.

" This being done, briefs or letters are despatched to all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and other superiors of all the provinces in the kingdom to notify the celebration of the Jubilee, and to exhort the prelates to be more than ordinarily zealous in their duty to instruct, either themselves or by their ministers, the flocks committed to their care, by which means they may qualify themselves to obtain the happy effects of the approaching Jubilee, just as the Jubilee instituted by Moses according to God's order was published before the seventh month to the sound of trumpets." [1]

At the opening function of the Jubilee of 1575 it was estimated that about 300,000 spectators were present in the Piazza of St. Peter's, besides those who assisted at the unwalling of the doors of the other

[1] " A true and exact account of all the ceremonies observed by the Church of Rome at the opening, during the progress, and at the conclusion of the next approaching Jubilee in the year 1700. Taken and translated into English from the Latin original printed at Rome. By order of the Pope." (*Somers' Tracts*. Ed., W. Scott. Vol. ix. p. 580, *seq.*)

basilicas. Connected with the consequent overcrowding of the thoroughfares, one regulation made by Pope Gregory XIII, which is alluded to by nearly all writers on the subject, is sufficiently curious to deserve rather more than a bare reference. In the still unpublished Latin diary of the Papal Master of Ceremonies of that date we read the following passage. The quaintness of the extract must serve as an apology for its length [1] :—

" On this same day the most illustrious and reverend Cardinals rode to the palace on horseback in pontifical state (*pontificaliter*) according to ancient and long-established custom by the Pope's express command. This custom for some years past had been dying out on account of the convenience of coaches to such an extent that hardly more than one or two Cardinals were left to keep up this laudable practice, amongst whom Cardinal Orsini observed it invariably whenever he was not prevented by foul weather, and Cardinals Farnese and Medici also were faithful to the same, though not so consistently. Finally, as I have said, on the approach of the year of Jubilee our most holy Lord, in view of the expected confluence of all nations to the city, revived the ancient usage and commanded it to be adhered to. We remember that Pope Pius IV also made the same regulation a few years ago, being indignant that the public order and the splendid ceremonial of the Roman Court should be set aside for private convenience. On that occasion, also, the Cardinals complied with the order for a time, but soon afterwards, being attracted by the commodity of these vehicles, they gradually ceased to pay attention to it, while the Popes connived at their negligence. Hence it will be the duty of our most holy Lord and his successors to see that this laudable custom, which is closely connected with the ceremonial state and due

[1] The diary of Mucantius may be found in a manuscript at the British Museum, Ad. 26811.

CARDINAL ON HORSEBACK IN A SOLEMN PROCESSION.
Bonanni.

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honour of the Holy See, be not again suffered to fall into desuetude, and, in my opinion, this would be most effectually secured if the free toleration of so many vehicles were either entirely abolished or were kept under strict control by ordaining that no Cardinal should have the right to keep more than a single coach, or should use it at any other time than when he appeared in state. Such a regulation would not only conduce to win respect for his high dignity, but would promote the general convenience of the citizens and residents, seeing that now, whenever any one of the more wealthy or distinguished Cardinals goes abroad, he is attended by such a crowd of coaches that the roads are obstructed for all other passengers, and these are compelled sorely against their will to await the passage of the long train of vehicles. Moreover, if a solemn festival be anywhere held, or if there be a confluence of people on occasion of any public rejoicing or spectacle, or the funeral procession of some Cardinal or dignitary, whatever the cause may be, the roads and open spaces are so packed with the crowd of vehicles that it becomes impossible for foot passengers to move along; nay, even the public ceremonies and processions are interfered with, to the great inconvenience and scandal of all, sometimes even with danger to life." [1]

The writer goes on to recommend that private persons should be forbidden to use coaches altogether on account of the spirit of luxury and extravagance which this new fashion had introduced. He complains that the total number of such vehicles in Rome now amounted to more than two thousand, and he adds that if they could all be piled up in one bonfire and burnt it would be a good riddance as well as a sacrifice most acceptable to God.

To anyone who examines the extraordinarily cumbrous and unwieldly construction depicted in the contemporary engraving of Bertellio, it will be difficult

[1] MS. Ad. 26811, fol. 120, v°.

to understand the "commodity" which made these vehicles so fashionable. The coach seems to have been almost as large as a brewer's dray. The Cardinal sat perched up behind with an effect which reminds us of the raised poop in the ships of the same period. The Cardinal's attendants, at a lower level, occupy the middle of the vehicle, and are seen looking out of the open doors. The coach is, of course, innocent of springs; and when one remembers the too probable condition of the roadway in the streets of Rome, far from suggesting any notion of comfort, it would seem to have been a veritable engine of torture. None the less, fashion inexorably prescribed the use of a carriage, and even St. Charles Borromeo is reported to have said that in Rome two things were necessary—"to love God and to keep a carriage." [1] In many of the engravings of the period may be seen representations of crowds in the open spaces of the city assisting at some religious procession or function. Almost invariably we find them dotted with what look like the white tilts of a number of country carts.[2] These are, in truth, the coaches of the cardinals and the aristocracy; and the abundant allusions in contemporary literature are detailed enough to prove that the engravings give no false impression of this curious feature of Roman life.

In spite, however, of what might seem a mark of effeminacy and deterioration, there can be no doubt that the general moral tone of the people of Rome, and in particular of the Roman ecclesiastics, at the Jubilee of 1575, and, indeed, from this time forward, stood very high. The Venetian Ambassador Tiepolo is an

[1] Hübner, *Sixtus the Fifth* (Eng. trans.), vol. ii. p. 95.

[2] In the case of the Cardinal's coaches, these coverings will have been made of rich red velvet, gilt and sometimes apparently glazed. Montaigne in his account of Rome speaks of some contrivance by which fashionable people looked out of the roof of their coaches, and quotes the remark of a contemporary who said that the Romans turned their carriages into astrolabes.

A CARDINAL'S COACH IN ROME AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

(Contemporary print.)

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impartial witness not likely to be deterred by any thought of edification from sending a faithful report to his Government. In a despatch written the year after the Jubilee the Ambassador says :—

"Gregory XIII, though less severe than Pius V, does as well. He takes great care of the churches, builds and restores several, and promotes, with the help of the clergy, the great work of reform. It is fortunate that two pontiffs of such irreproachable lives should have succeeded one another, for by their example every one has become, or appears to have become, better. The cardinals and prelates often say mass, live quietly, their household likewise, and the whole town leads a better and incomparably more Christian existence, so that the affairs of Rome, from a religious point of view, are in a good condition and not far short of that state of perfection which human weakness allows of our attaining. The throng in the churches on the occasion of this Holy Year just past, not only composed of Roman inhabitants but of people belonging to all parts of Italy and of various foreign nationalities, was immense. Whole populations from the villages and even towns of the pontifical states came to the holy city. Three and four thousand were seen travelling together. One hospital, that of the Trinità dei Monti, where poor pilgrims were harboured for three days, lodged and fed 250,000 people with an admirable order and without ever wanting more than what money had been collected in alms for this purpose." [1]

Moreover, the Pope was not unmindful of those of the faithful who were unable to visit Rome, and especially he remembered the unhappy condition of English Catholics at the period. Vittorelli [2] says: "Gregory, beholding with compassionate eyes and paternal clemency the tribulations and trials of the

[1] Hübner, *Sixtus the Fifth*, vol. i. p. 86.
[2] P. 394. See also Manni, p. 148.

English Catholics, both within and without that most noble kingdom, granted to them that not being able to come to Rome, by piously visiting four churches in whatever place they might be, or three, or two, or one, if they could do no more, for fifteen days, and devoutly supplicating God, etc., etc. . . . And to those who were in England or elsewhere where the public worship of God according to the Catholic rites of the Holy Roman Church was not permitted, . . . he conceded the same benefits, provided they carried out what was prescribed them by a prudent confessor, according to the estate and condition of each. . . . And to those who could not resort to a confessor, he desired that with true contrition of heart they should devoutly recite the Rosary or chaplet of the Blessed Virgin fifteen times ; and also conceded that whatever confessor, secular or regular, they had access to might absolve even in cases reserved to the Holy See. This Brief, *sub annulo piscatoris,* was issued at Rome on 30th March, 1575."

The Jubilees of the seventeenth century may be dismissed with comparative brevity ; not that the interest in them was waning, or that they attracted a less concourse of pilgrims, but that their character as purely religious celebrations was now so thoroughly appreciated that there is little to diversify the uniform and somewhat monotonous record of the multitudes which thronged the churches ; the seemingly endless processions of pilgrims through the streets ; the edifying example of popes, cardinals, and prelates ; the splendour of the papal ceremonial ; the crowds around the confessionals ; and the marvellous charity displayed by the people of Rome in welcoming their fellow-Christians from far and near. The example of such men as St. Charles Borromeo and St. Philip Neri had left an ineffaceable impression.

It may be noticed that even such a writer as Dr. H. C. Lea, in his *History of Confession and Indulgences,*

does not seem to dispute the reality of the deep religious impressions which the scenes of the Jubilee at this date produced upon the pilgrims. "Many heretics," he writes, "who had been attracted by curiosity were converted at the sight of the popular enthusiasm, and the humble zeal of Clement VIII in washing the feet of pilgrims, and his assiduity in celebrating Mass and in personally hearing confessions—four hundred converts in all, according to some accounts, but Valerio gives the more probable number of fifty. It is evident from his recital that the population was wrought to a pitch of religious delirium not unlike that of a prolonged camp meeting, but all the fiercer from the infectious enthusiasm of so vast a multitude crowded together." [1]

Similarly, a letter of Blessed Cardinal Bellarmine to the Bishop of Verdun, written this year (1600), expresses the wish that the bishop could visit Rome, in order to take part in the celebrations.[2] "Would that," he writes, "I might have the consolation of meeting your illustrious lordship here in Rome, especially during this Holy Year of Jubilee, that I might converse with you, embrace you, visit the holy places in your company, that we might together wash the feet of Christ, represented to us in the pilgrims who come here in crowds, and that we might, in waiting upon the same pilgrims, serve our Redeemer as He sits at table; for these are the offices which are continually performed with the utmost devotion by the Vicar of Christ himself, by the Cardinals also, and other prelates, and with no less humility even by secular princes.

One slight memorial of the echoes awakened in Protestant England by the proclamation of the Jubilee of 1675 may be found in a broadside of that date, of which a copy is preserved in the British Museum. The bulk of the document consists of a sort of

[1] Vol. iii. p. 217. [2] Quoted by Manni, p. 174.

ballad in doggerel verse, but the heading runs as follows :—

THE POPE'S GREAT YEAR OF JUBILEE

OR The Catholicks Encouragement for the Entertainment of Popery

With an account of an eminent Mart or Fair, which is to be kept by his Holiness, where all sorts of Indulgencies, Pardons, Remissions, Relicks, Trash and Trumperies are to be exposed to sale, and may be had for ready money at any time of the day ; with the usual ceremonies thereunto appertaining.

Therefore such sons as are desirous to imbrace the kind proffers of their holy Mother ; are advised in the nick of time to, " Come all away."

Turn in, Have at all.

To give an idea of the nature of the poem itself the following two stanzas will amply suffice :—

For now with you I shall be free,
This is the year of Jubilee,
When all are welcome to their charge,
For we our coffers shall enlarge,
Good wares we proffer every day,
Which you may try before you buy,
Come all away, come all away.

Pardons, and indulgencies,
Relicks and such rarities,
If you but ready money bring,
You shall not want for any thing.
Our Holy Father, we'll obey,
And serve you all, both great and small,
Come all away, come all away.

The interest which English Protestants took in the Roman Jubilee was, however, curiously accentuated at the next celebration, that of 1700. An excellent account of the Jubilee observances was translated from the French and published in London. Therein, for example, we read :—

" We must also take a short view of those trans-

actions which are performed in the City of Rome to obtain the happy end of the Jubilee. As those who hope to reap the fruits of a plenary indulgence must qualify themselves for it by many acts of charity, a true penitence, and other good works, so I must needs tire the reader's patience if I should pretend to give an exact account of those who flock from all parts to Rome, to make their confessions and appear before the highest tribunal of penitence. It will suffice to say that both day and night all the churches of that great city are filled up with innumerable multitudes of people, who offer up their prayers in the presence of God Almighty. I may say it without vanity, that there is no street, no, not so much as a by-lane, in this vast city, which, being formerly the capital empire of the world, is now the capital of God's Kingdom upon earth, where you may not see most evident marks of an unfeigned piety; here you meet those who make it their whole business to give alms to the poor with so much profusion, that you cannot imagine otherwise but that they are giving away all they have the better to follow Christ; others you may observe to bestow most of their time and substance in giving a good reception to those pilgrims, who come from all the corners of Christendom, to partake of the happy effects of the Jubilee. You will meet, as well in the streets as in the churches, vast numbers of both sexes, who, touched with remorse for their past crimes, appear in miserable dress and a most abjected posture; some are clad in long, coarse gowns, others covered only with sackcloth, some cover their hands and faces with ashes, others knock their breasts with their fists; many there are who tear the flesh all over their bodies by the violence of the discipline; and, to be short, there is scarcely any kind of mortification invented to give satisfaction to, and appease, God's anger, which you see not put in practice at that time.

"Neither must you imagine that those exercises are

performed by private persons only; no, you will see whole fraternities and congregations, composed of a considerable number, who, all animated by the same spirit, strive to excite one another to the performance of them by their mutual examples. Thus you may behold entire chapters and colleges of canons, and other societies, enter in procession the city of Rome; nay, whole parishes with their curates at the head of them, who leave their habitations to pay their adoration to the Lord and His Son Jesus Christ in that church, where, as it may be said, God has erected His tabernacle, and honoured it with His particular protection, and which claims a prerogative before others, by the death of the chief of the apostles and his fellow-sufferer. With this kind of people you see all the streets and other public places of this vast city crowded, going in procession from one church to the other, some singing, others sighing and shedding tears. For whilst some are busy in singing the litanies and psalms appointed for that purpose, others offer their prayers with their eyes fastened to the ground, and when they approach the churches, especially that of St. Peter, you may see many of them crawling upon the ground to the foot of the altar, where they continue for a considerable time in saying their prayers. These and such like devotions are practised at Rome throughout the course of the whole Jubilee." [1]

The Holy Year for which this little volume was published in England was proclaimed, as usual, on the Ascension Day of 1699. The reigning Pope, Innocent XII, amongst other preliminary measures, appointed a congregation of cardinals to draw up an instruction for its due celebration, which was eventually sent to the patriarchs, bishops, and other ordinaries throughout the Christian world. The instruction contained certain regulations concerning the deportment and behaviour of the pilgrims, which show that

[1] Somers's Tracts, vol. ix.

our present Holy Father's requirements in the matter of ladies' dress are not altogether a novelty. In 1700 also the women were enjoined to be modestly and soberly attired, under penalty of being precluded from taking part in the processions or from being received at the hospices. At these latter places men and women were to be lodged in different parts of the building, and were to be visited daily by a priest. All pilgrims were to make a general confession before commencing the visits to the basilicas. On their way to the churches they were to recite the Rosary and sing hymns, and not endeavour to get the foremost places. Conductors of processions were to be at least fifty years old and of unimpeachable reputation, showing a good example to the other pilgrims by their frequent visits to the churches and reception of the sacraments.

This Jubilee of 1700, as already noticed, seems to have attracted more attention in England than any other Holy Year either before or since. For some not very intelligible reason—probably connected with the interest taken by the Tories in the movements of the exiled James II and his relations with the Holy See—a large number of young men of fashion appear to have started off for Rome to witness the opening and other papal functions. George Farquhar, the dramatist, introduced the subject into a comedy which was entitled *A Trip to the Jubilee*, and which was performed with great success at Drury Lane. One of the actors, Harry Norris, was so appreciated in his part that he was afterwards familiarly known by the name of Jubilee Dicky. In the Epilogue occur the lines :—

> But from side-box we dread a dreadful doom,
> All the good-natured beaux are gone to Rome.[1]

[1] There can be little doubt that the word was intended to be pronounced *room*. This was clearly the usage in Shakespeare's day, and it seems to have lasted down to the time of our grandfathers.

The play brings before us a curious anticipation of a phraseology of which we all got heartily sick in the later years of our good Queen Victoria. "O gemini!" one of the characters exclaims, "my Jubilee pistols"; or again, "Murdered my brother! O crimini! my Jubilee brother!" "Gone with my clothes, my fine Jubilee clothes." "Now that I'm elder brother, I'll court and swear, and rant and rake, and go to the Jubilee with the best of them!" and so on. But beyond the name and a few such satirical touches the Jubilee really plays no part in the action of the drama.

The following account, written to Mr. Pepys by his nephew, J. Jackson, who was one of these fashionable pilgrims, will be read with interest :—

"Rome, Dec. 25, 1699.

". . . We made our entry here on Tuesday last, about 23 o'clock, and were soon after deafened with the jangling of all the bells of the town, which for several days, morning and evening, had proclaimed the approach of the Holy Year. Our first visit was, as you may imagine, to St. Peter's, to see the preparations for the great solemnity, where we found them busy in building the scaffolds about the *Porta Santa*, which is a lesser door on the right hand entering within the Portico. . . . Part of these scaffolds were destined for the Queen of Poland and her suite, part for the Ambassadors, and part for the Ladies, Roman and Foreign, and a separate one, the most remote, for the Gentlemen Strangers, where not above 100, I am sure, could see well. The seats for the Cardinals and Bishops, etc., assisting, were on the area, where also a good number of persons of the first quality were admitted. But with all this I entertained but very little hope of seeing what I had come so far to see, till encouraged by Father Mansfield, Doctor of the College of English Jesuits here, . . . he having an interest with the two Prelates appointed for the

placing of strangers; by which means, in short, and force of crowding, Mr. Martin and I have had the good fortune to see all the minutest parts of this solemn ceremony, the whole process of which falling within my notice, was this:

"The morning, being yesterday the 24th, was ushered in by the jangling of bells I have mentioned; soldiers, like those of our Trained-Band, were placed in different quarters of the town to prevent disorders, and chiefly in the Piazza of St. Peter's, where were the Swiss Halberdiers, in red and yellow, and a troop of horse, in armour, drawn up.

"About 16 o'clock we got into our places, and about 23[1] began the procession from the Vatican, through the corridor into the Piazza, and so into the Portico, drums beating, etc., all the while. First came the Choristers and the officiating Priests, with tapers in their hands, singing; then the Bishops; and last of all, the Cardinals in their Pontificalibus; the Cardinal de Bouillon, appointed by the Pope to perform this office in his stead, by reason of his extreme illness, closing the whole, and being distinguished from the rest by a mitre of rich gold stuff, the others being of white damask.

"After a short office with some singing, neither of which could be well distinguished, the Cardinal advanced to the Holy Door, the guns of Castell St. Angelo were discharged, and he knocked thrice with a silver hammer on a small cross of brass, fixed in the mortar of the door, pausing a few minutes between each stroke, whilst some words were repeated. Having given the last stroke, he retired a little, and down fell the door, which made no small dust, being of brick, plaistered on both sides, and kept together by a frame of wood round, and supported on the inside with props, which, being taken away, it fell into a case set to receive it, for its more ready removal;

[1] This in midwinter would be about 4 p.m.

the Cardinals, etc., entering afterwards to sing vespers, and the people by degrees following in most astonishing crowds. There was a throne, with six palls prepared for the Pope, of crimson velvet, close by the door, but he not being there no use was made of it. The scaffold was hung with tapestry and crimson damask, with stripes of golden galoon, as are also all the pilasters of St. Peter's and some other of the churches in the city.

"In the meantime, others of the Cardinals, etc., in cavalcade, went to the Campidoglio, and there divided to go to the other churches, to open each of their Holy Gates also; but of this I saw nothing. . . .

"I afterwards saw the Cardinals' supper, in the Vatican Palace, which both for form and substance was very singular, and from hence went to the midnight devotions at St. Lorenzo, where I heard most ravishing music suited to the occasion. . . . The crowd still continues at St. Peter's so great with pilgrims going in at the Holy Gate upon their knees that I have not yet been able to make my way through it; but I have got a piece of the ruin of it, which will serve in the meantime to support my devotion." [1]

Another English publication which bears witness to the interest the subject had aroused is a little book entitled *A Pilgrimage to the Grand Jubilee* (London, 1700). It is a very scurrilous narrative of a visit paid to Rome in that year by an Englishman, seemingly an apostate Catholic. The book was reprinted, at least twice, with a slightly altered title,[2] and was rendered still more objectionable by the addition of a number of coarse and indecent anecdotes. The testimony of this writer, however, may be accepted without suspicion as long as he is merely describing

[1] *Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, vol. v. pp. 378–380. Letter from his nephew, J. Jackson.

[2] *The Travels of an English Gentleman to Rome*, by A. F. (London, 1718); and *A Trip to the Jubilee* (London, 1749).

POLISH PILGRIMS JOURNEYING TO ROME.
(Bertelli.)

To face p. 193.

the concourse of pilgrims and the enthusiasm which the occasion evoked. From this point of view the following passage is interesting :—

" In our passage thither we found the roads were filled with numerous crowds of travellers, pilgrims, poor priests, and a continued train of sunburnt, sad, weather-beaten sinners of both sexes, crawling along the highways in such despicable apparel that nothing, sure, but the mercy of an Infinite Being could think such a parcel of contemptible wretches worth notice. Had I not known the occasion that called them together in these numbers, instead of believing 'em to be Christians going to the Jubilee, I should have took 'em by their looks and garb to have been infidel Indians moving towards grand Paw-Waw. All ranks and qualities were so promiscuously mingled, that they seemed to me like the original of Michael Angelo's ' Resurrection,' and that the whole world was jogging on in disorder towards a general tribunal—bishops in coaches, poor priests on foot, gentlemen on horses, beaus upon mules, pilgrims upon asses ; and thus they moved on higgle-de-piggle-de, like Don Quevedo's revel rout when they were running headlong to the Devil." [1]

Again, after reaching his destination, the writer remarks :—

" The innumerable concourse of strangers that are come hither upon the account of the Jubilee is so incredibly great, that the country adjacent is scarce able to supply 'em with provisions ; and the poorer sort are almost ready to petition the Pope to feed 'em by a miracle, which I fear, if once tried, would prove but lean fare, to the great grumbling of the multitude, who, like a parcel of French Protestants at a Spitalfields chandler's, are ready to go together by the ears about who shall be first served. The pilgrims, only, that flock to this city are so very

[1] *A Pilgrimage to the Jubilee*, pp. 84, 85.

numerous, that from the opening of the Holy Gate to the 5th instant (*i.e.* from 24th December to 5th January) it is computed above 100,000 have visited the four churches appointed for gaining the indulgences of the Holy Year, besides other strangers, whose number is not much less, so that the whole town is thronged like a Bartholomew Fair in the height of their revels." [1]

This evidence, and the other facts already quoted concerning the celebration of 1700, are the more worthy of attention, because the late Dr. Lea has asserted in his *History of Indulgences* that after the Holy Years of 1575 and 1600, which last he regards as the "high-water mark" of the success of the Jubilee, the tide of popularity turned, and that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we remark "a gradual falling off in numbers and zeal." Dr. Lea is no doubt right in saying that there was a reduction in the offerings of the pilgrims; and as he professes to believe that the Jubilee was regarded by the Roman ecclesiastics in absolutely no other light than as a money-making speculation, the later Jubilees, from this point of view, may no doubt be described as less successful. There is, however, no occasion to discuss further the mercenary motives so constantly imputed to the Holy See in connection with this subject. It will be sufficient to have pointed out how few signs were to be seen in 1700 of any falling off in popular devotion.

Among other preparations for the Jubilee of 1725, we may mention particularly the erection of an equestrian statue of Charlemagne in the portico of St. Peter's. It was designed to match the statue of Constantine, by Bernini, which had been standing close beside the Holy Door for nearly a century. This statue of Charlemagne, by A. Cornacchini, was erected at the other extremity of the portico, and it

[1] *A Pilgrimage to the Jubilee*, pp. 112, 113.

may be distinguished in the photograph facing p. 31. This new embellishment of the principal scene of the Jubilee ceremonies was commemorated in a very beautiful medal, designed by Hamerani. The inscription reads, CAROLO MAGNO ROMANÆ ECCLESIÆ VINDICI ANNO JUBILEI MDCCXXV.

Benedict XIV began his preparations for the Jubilee of 1750 as early as February in the preceding year. He sent a circular letter to all the bishops in the Papal States, in which he urged on them (1) the duty of seeing that all the churches in their respective dioceses were clean and in good repair; and (2) the need of reform in the music used at the divine services. This was in future to be of a more severe and less florid type; the music commonly heard being, the Pope said, more fitted for the theatre than for the worship of God. But most of all he insisted on the need of spiritual preparation.

It would, in fact, be a great mistake to suppose that either in this or in previous Jubilees the Roman Pontiffs had made provision only for the bodily comfort of the crowds that flocked to the Indulgence and had no regard for the proper preparation of their souls. The discernment of the more judicious among the clergy, and the experience gradually accumulated as years rolled by, had brought the conviction that, if the Holy Year was really to be a season of grace and spiritual renovation, it was necessary that the good seed should be sown beforehand. The custom, therefore, had by degrees been introduced of giving missions among the people and exhorting them to repentance not only during the Jubilee itself but in the months which immediately preceded it. In this particular year Pope Benedict XIV not only took the keenest personal interest in bringing every influence to bear which could enkindle the devotion of his people, but he also himself set a conspicuous example. He was not content with attending many of the

sermons which he had caused to be preached in the city, but immediately before the Christmas Eve on which the opening ceremony of the Jubilee took place, he withdrew from public life to make the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius for ten days under the direction of the Jesuit Father Duranti, one of the penitentiaries of St. Peter's. That this thoroughgoing preparation for the season of grace was not confined to Rome alone we may learn from certain incidents recorded in the life of St. Alphonsus Liguori. We are there told that "at the opening of the Jubilee in 1750" Mgr. de Novelles invited Alphonsus to give a mission at Sarno, which is in the Neapolitan territory. "The sight of the holy man," the biographer continues, "clad in an old mantle mended in a thousand places, with a cassock in the same condition, was itself a sermon, for all in Sarno knew his noble birth and were confounded to see him clothed like a beggar." The effects of the mission were marvellous, and, what is more, they were lasting. We are assured on grave authority that "for ten years after this the taverns in Sarno were quite deserted." When Alphonsus had finished the mission in this town, in which he was aided by fourteen missionaries, "he commenced preaching throughout the diocese. Everywhere grace triumphed, sin was banished, and piety re-established."[1]

In Rome itself it was the holy Franciscan friar, canonised in our own times and known as St. Leonard of Port Maurice, who produced the most profound impression. The life of the saint, by Fra Giuseppe Maria di Masserano, gives the following details :—

"Having ended the missions in Sabina, St. Leonard received a summons to Rome from the Pope, Benedict XIV, in order that he might prepare the people for the Jubilee which was to be celebrated the following year. He was appointed to preach successively

[1] Tannoja, *Life of St. Alphonsus Liguori*, Eng. trans., vol. ii. pp. 16, 17.

in the provinces and in the city, which he did with so much zeal and fervour to an immense assemblage of people of all ranks, and succeeded in making so deep an impression on the minds of all who heard him, that Rome became quite a different place in consequence of the reformation of morals. It would fill many volumes to give an account of all he did for the salvation of souls. The first crusade against vice was begun in the Piazza Navona, where the concourse was so numerous that everyone was astonished, especially at the last sermon, which was attended by all the nobles of Rome, and not only was that spacious square filled, but also all the streets that led to it.

"This mission lasted a fortnight, and the Holy Pontiff himself came four times to hear him; and as it was his custom, before beginning his sermon, to expose the Blessed Sacrament and to give benediction at the end, the Pope himself one evening elected to discharge this sacred function, and on every other evening one or other of the cardinals officiated, some twenty of whom continually attended the mission. Blessed Leonard always gave first a meditation on the Blessed Sacrament; and after the sermon on the last day, the Holy Pontiff, who had remained to hear it, accompanied by the cardinals, ascended an open gallery and gave the papal benediction to the countless multitude assembled below, and so ended the first of these most salutary devotions and exercises. But that which caused the greatest astonishment in this mission was the fact that those who could not approach near enough to hear the voice and distinguish the words of the holy missionary, no sooner perceived him on the platform than they began to weep and express their compunction, and very soon, throughout the crowd, nothing was heard but weeping and lamentations. Although it was in August—the hottest season—gentlemen and ladies of the highest

distinction took their station in the Piazza, and remained there, exposed to the burning heat of the sun, from the beginning to the end of the sermon, thinking nothing of what they endured. From the time the man of God appeared, a sign from him was sufficient to cause the most perfect silence, so that you would hardly suppose there was a living person in that immense crowd. The other missions were given in the square of Sta Maria in Trastevere, and Sta Maria Sopra Minerva, and were also honoured by the presence of the Holy Father. To conceive the fruits that resulted from these missions, it is sufficient to say that, although Rome was full of churches and confessors, they had to remain from morning to night hearing the confessions of the people who crowded round the church doors even before daybreak." [1]

In connection with the Jubilee celebrated in 1775 by Pius VI at the very beginning of his pontificate, it may be interesting to make a couple of citations from the description of papal Rome previously quoted, which was written by Dr. John Moore, the father of the hero of Corunna. Though he was by no means Catholic in his sympathies his prejudices were very honest ones. He was present at the ceremony of the closing of the Holy Door by Pius VI, and he has left the following account of it :—

" There is one door into the Church of St. Peter's, which is called the Holy Door. This is always walled up, except on this distinguished year ; and even then no person is permitted to enter by it but in the humblest posture. The pilgrims and many others prefer crawling into the church on their knees, by this door, to walking in, in the usual way by any other. I was present at the shutting up of this Holy Door. The Pope, being seated on a raised seat or kind of throne, surrounded by cardinals and other ecclesiastics, an

[1] *Life of St. Leonard*, pp. 131–133.

anthem was sung, accompanied by all sorts of musical instruments. During the performance His Holiness descended from the throne with a golden trowel in his hand, placed the first brick, and applied some mortar; he then returned to his seat, and the door was instantly built up by more expert, though less hallowed, workmen; and will remain as it is now till the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it will be again opened by the Pope then in being with the same solemnity that it has now been shut. Though His Holiness places but a single brick, yet it is very remarkable that this never fails to communicate its influence in such a rapid and powerful manner that within about an hour, or at most an hour and a half, all the other bricks which form the wall of the Holy Door acquire an equal degree of sanctity with that placed by the Pope's own hands. The common people and pilgrims are well acquainted with this wonderful effect. At the beginning of this Jubilee year, when the late wall was thrown down, men, women, and children scrambled and fought for the fragments of the bricks and mortar with the same eagerness which less enlightened mobs display on days of public rejoicing, when handfuls of money are thrown among them. I have been often assured that those pieces of brick, besides their sanctity, have also the virtue of curing many of the most obstinate diseases; and if newspapers were permitted at Rome there is not the least reason to doubt that those cures would be attested publicly by the patients in a manner as satisfactory and convincing as are the cures performed daily by the pills, powders, drops, and balsams advertised in the London newspapers.

"After the shutting of the Holy Door Mass was celebrated at midnight, and the ceremony was attended by vast multitudes of people. For my own part I suspended my curiosity till next day, which was Christmas Day, when I returned again to St. Peter's

Church and saw the Pope perform Mass on that solemn occasion." [1]

Having begun to quote Dr. Moore, the following remarks upon the personal character of Pope Pius VI are too interesting to be passed over :—

" Pius the Sixth performs all the religious functions of his office in the most solemn manner, not only on public and extraordinary occasions, but also in the most common acts of devotion. I happened lately to be at St. Peter's Church, when there was scarcely any other body there. While I lounged from chapel to chapel, looking at the sculpture and paintings, the Pope entered with a very few attendants. When he came to the statue of St. Peter he was not satisfied with bowing, which is the usual mark of respect shown to that image ; or with kneeling, which is performed by more zealous persons ; or with kissing the foot, which I formerly imagined concluded the climax of devotion ; he bowed, he knelt, he kissed the foot, and then he rubbed his brow and his whole head with every mark of humility, fervour, and adoration, upon the sacred stump. It is no more, one-half of the foot having been long since worn away by the lips of the pious ; and if the example of His Holiness is universally imitated, nothing but a miracle can prevent the leg, thigh, and other parts from meeting with the same fate. This uncommon appearance of zeal in the Pope is not imputed to hypocrisy or to policy, but is supposed to proceed entirely from a conviction of the efficacy of those holy frictions, an opinion which has given people a much higher idea of the strength of his faith than of his understanding. This being jubilee year, he may possibly think a greater appearance of devotion necessary now than at any other time." [2]

[1] Moore, *View of Society and Manners in Italy*, vol. ii. pp. 40–42.
[2] *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, etc., by John Moore, M.D. London, 1783, vol. ii. pp. 34, 35.

The sincerity of the writer from his point of view is made obvious in this passage, and so also is the sincerity of the Pontiff. But surely one does not measure the understanding of a lover by the more or less of fervour with which he kisses his mistress's portrait, nor condemn the soldier for the almost childish marks of devotion he may pay to his colours. It is interesting to remark that the only time Pius IX left the precincts of the Vatican after the occupation of Rome was to pay a visit to the statue of the Prince of the Apostles in St. Peter's during what should have been the jubilee year of 1875, just one hundred years after the scene just described. The reader will possibly recall the touching picture of Pius IX standing in silent prayer, with his head bowed and resting upon the foot of St. Peter's statue, which is familiar from many engravings.

We may conclude this desultory survey by a brief reference to the only Holy Year celebrated in the nineteenth century. The Jubilee which should have been held in 1800 did not take place. Pius VI had died in exile in the preceding autumn, and the pontificate of his successor, Pius VII, was too full of misfortune and calamities to permit him to celebrate a Holy Year. Pius VII died in 1823, and was succeeded by Leo XII (Cardinal Hannibal della Genga). In the face of much opposition, both from his own ministers and the representatives of foreign Powers, the Pope resolved to celebrate the Jubilee in 1825. Of Leo's personal example in following the exercises of the Jubilee, Cardinal Wiseman, who was then resident in Rome, has left us a striking picture :—

" The Holy Father was the soul of all this work. To see him, and carry back his blessing, was of course one of the most highly coveted privileges of a pilgrimage to Rome. Hence he had repeatedly to show himself to the crowds and bless them. They were instructed to hold up whatever they wished to have

blessed ; and certainly scarcely ever did Rome present a more motley crowd, arrayed in every variety of costume, from the sober, and almost clerical, dress of German peasants, to the rainbow hues of the Abruzzi or Campania. But the Pope manifested his hearty sympathy in his Jubilee by a more remarkable proof than these. He daily served in his own palace twelve pilgrims at table, and his biographer tells us that he continued this practice throughout his reign. To his accompanying them I well remember being an eye-witness. For one of such delicate health and feeble frame it was no slight undertaking to walk from the Vatican to the Chiesa Nuova ; but to perform this pilgrimage barefoot, with only sandals on his feet, was more than anyone was prepared for. He was preceded by the poor, surrounded and followed by them. Tears flowed on every side, and blessings were uttered deep and warm. His look was calm and devout, and abstracted from all around. It reminded everyone forcibly of St. Charles at Milan, humbling himself by a similar act of public devotion to appease the divine wrath manifested in the plague." [1]

[1] Wiseman, *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, pp. 283, 284.

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